# THE
# Western Country
# IN
# 1793

## REPORTS ON KENTUCKY
## AND VIRGINIA
## BY
## HARRY TOULMIN

EDITED BY

MARION TINLING AND GODFREY DAVIES

1948

SAN MARINO, CALIFORNIA

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# INTRODUCTION

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In the year 1793 Harry Toulmin, a young Unitarian minister of Chowbent, Lancashire, left England for America. One of his purposes was to travel through America and report to his parishioners on the suitability of its various sections for other would-be emigrants. He fulfilled this trust admirably, keeping a journal and writing lengthy letters and reports on the social, economic, and political conditions of Virginia and Kentucky in particular. The reports have never been published, and whether or not they stimulated the recipients to emigrate is unknown. But to the present-day reader and historian the factual details contained in Toulmin's account are so vivid and so exact that they warrant publication today, many years after their composition.

The motives which prompted an Englishman like Harry Toulmin to emigrate in the 1790's were unusually powerful. The land hunger and desire for social betterment, which had existed from the earliest days of colonization, had become intensified by economic changes. Enclosures and large-scale farming had already reduced many small farmers to the ranks of laborers, and the Industrial Revolution, although in its infancy, was threatening to multiply the number of artisans dependent all their lives on wages. The marked increase of population during the eighteenth century was making the supply of food grown at home insufficient and during the last decade the poor harvests, by causing prices to rise, worsened the condition of all with fixed incomes.

As a minister with a fixed stipend, Harry Toulmin was no doubt a victim of the economic changes England was undergoing, but as a Unitarian he had some special grievances. A long series of statutes excluded Unitarians from national and local politics, and the ecclesiastical and social contempt they had to bear was an additional burden. The gradually increasing antagonism towards Revolutionary France and her English sympathizers made the condition of Unitarians even more critical. The reaction which set in against all reform as a result of revolutionary excesses in Paris must have been almost heartbreaking to earnest liberals like the Toulmins, father

and son, and their great friend, Joseph Priestley. Twice their hopes had been raised and twice doomed to disappointment. First the American and then the French Revolution had given birth to fervid expectations of a brave new world. Political reformers thought that at last the "Venetian oligarchy" would be forced to extend the franchise and abolish the rotten boroughs upon which the aristocratic system of government depended. Dissenters looked to the removal of the various legal disabilities under which they suffered. The meaner sort hoped that the burdens of taxes, tithes, game laws, and social conventions under which they groaned would be removed. But when France declared war upon England early in 1793 all these bright prospects vanished as if they had never been. Some reformers continued the long struggle in England, but others threw up the sponge and decided to leave their native land rather than participate in the war against France whence they had expected salvation.

Priestley, Unitarian minister and "natural philosopher" of Birmingham, had suffered even before the outbreak of war with France because of his avowed sympathy for the Revolutionaries. In the Birmingham riots of 1791 his books were burned and his laboratory ruined. He began to think of emigrating, and when in 1794 he announced his intention of leaving England he stated that "the bigotry of the country in general made it impossible for me to place my sons in it to any advantage. . . . My own situation, if not hazardous, was become unpleasant, so that I thought my removal would be of more service to the cause of truth than my longer stay in England."

The life of Harry Toulmin's father, too, illustrates the hard lot of a radical dissenter in the days of the French Revolution. Joshua Toulmin (1740-1815), educated at a dissenting academy as a Presbyterian minister, soon rebelled against the rigidity of Calvinism. He became a general Baptist in the early 1760's and as such accepted a call to Taunton in 1765, where he remained for thirty-eight years. About 1770 he adopted Socinianism—now styled Unitarianism—and published the life and writings of Faustus Socinius in 1777. Henceforth he was a prolific dissenting historian and biographer, among his works being the life of John Biddle, who suffered as a Socinian in Cromwell's day, and a new edition of Neal's *History of the Puritans*, still worth consulting. His eminence as a scholar was recognized by the conferment of the degree of Doctor of Divinity by Harvard University in 1794.

But his services to scholarship availed little amid the excitement caused by events in France. Mob violence and the unpopularity of his political and religious views compelled him to abandon his school and bookstore upon which he relied to supplement his earnings as a minister, and he found it advisable to accept a call to Birmingham, although it had been the scene of Dr. Priestley's ill treatment at the hands of over-patriotic neighbors.

Harry Toulmin, son of Joshua and Jane Smith Toulmin, was born April 7, 1767, and educated for the ministry at Hoxton Academy. He was the minister of the Dissenting Meetinghouse in Chowbent, Lancashire, by 1787.[1] At the age of twenty-six, with a growing family, he was facing the choice offered to all liberals of acquiescence in a political and social order of which he disapproved or emigration. Before leaving, he must have considered the move very carefully and discussed the whole question with his parishioners, some of whom contributed to the expense of his passage to America in order to receive first-hand reports on the suitability of that country for their own removal. Toulmin's purpose is hinted at in several passages of the letters printed below to James Leigh in Lancashire: "If I should determine to settle here, the question whether I shall return to make a report, will entirely depend upon you who are concerned in the expense" (July 21, 1793). "I have sent three packages, the last of which went yesterday and contains a minute account of the Valley of the Shenandoah, together with my journal till our arrival at Winchester. . . . I know you will be waiting for my advice respecting those who thought of joining me soon. This must in some measure depend upon your present views and plans. . . . As to the prosecution of our plan, that must rest with you. It depends upon your coinciding in views and pursuits" (Nov. 20, 1793). The final letter, dated the day before Toulmin and his family went to Kentucky to take up residence in that state, expresses his reasons for settling in America and discusses the pros and cons of emigration, ending: "I have not exercised the power entrusted to me of securing a tract of land; for though I am satisfied in my own mind, I doubt giving satisfaction to the others. . . . If your young men come out, they may depend upon every advice, direction, and assistance which I can afford" (May 19, 1794).

Toulmin's religious and political persuasions are also expressed in

[1]Edward Baines, *The History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster*, III (1836), 612-15.

his journal and letters. Held up by a French privateer on the high seas, the passengers of Toulmin's ship told the Frenchmen "that though we were born in England we are now becoming citizens of America, that we were hearty well-wishers to the cause of liberty in France, that some of us were leaving England because we abhorred the idea of contributing to a war against France, and could not avoid anticipating the extinction of liberty in our native land." The argument was clinched by showing the Frenchmen letters of introduction which Toulmin carried to such republicans in America as Jefferson and Madison.

Even in America Toulmin found that his prospects as a Unitarian minister would be poor along the seaboard. A letter he wrote Madison after several months spent in America (on October 11, 1793) throws further light on his plans and purposes as modified by his experiences:

> It is with pleasure I recollect the few hours in which I was so happy as to enjoy your company, though I regret that a little indisposition, which was then beginning, & which terminated in a bilious fever, prevented me from enjoying it so much as I should otherwise have done. I had then some distant thoughts of extending my little tour to the western country, and you were so obliging as to offer to introduce me to your friends in Kentucky, should I determine upon carrying this idea into execution. I am now on my return from Carlisle and Lancaster to Winchester in this state, where it would afford me great pleasure to be favoured with a line from you to any gentleman in Kentucky, for I mean to proceed from Winchester to that country in about the space of a fortnight.
>
> I have much reason to acknowledge with thankfulness similar favours which you have already conferred upon me. Mr Belmain has been peculiarly obliging and friendly.
>
> My first object in going to Kentucky is to procure some knowledge of the country for the information of friends in England: and as my partiality for America, makes me rather desire to continue here, than to return to my native country, my second object is to see if there be any prospect of my establishing myself there as an instructor of youth in classical knowledge & other branches of liberal education. At present indeed I am connected with a society in England as a minister of religion: but I believe my faith is too simple to admit of any similar connection in America.

I have great reason, however, to speak of the liberality of some worthy men with whom I have been so fortunate as to form an acquaintance, & especially Mr Belmain.[2]

A month later Madison wrote in Toulmin's behalf to John Breckinridge, who in 1792 had felt the call of Kentucky so strongly that he had given up his position in Congress (to which he had just been elected by Virginia) to settle near Lexington, in Fayette County.

I take the liberty of making known to you the Revd. Mr. Toulmin who visits Kentucky with a view to transmit its character to a body of his friends in England who wish to exchange their native Country for some part of ours. He has a secondary view of trying whether he can be engaged on acceptable conditions as an Instructor of youth in classical and other liberal branches of education. At present he is connected with a Religious Society in England of the principles taught by Docr. Priestley and other Dissenting Clergymen; but he supposes his faith too simple to admit of any similar connection in this Country. He has been very strongly recommended to me, and every other circumstance within my knowledge has contributed to vouch his merits. Your counsel and civilities will I am persuaded be of much use to him and I hope you will pardon my freedom in asking them for him.[3]

Thomas Jefferson, too, had written to "Mr. Brackenridge" introducing Toulmin.

This will be handed you by mr Toulmin a gentleman who goes to visit your state with a view to settle in it. I have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with him; but from the multiplied testimonies of those who have, I am able to assure you that you will find in him a person of understanding, of science, & of great worth: and what will be an additional recommendation to you, a pure & zealous republican. any attentions or services you can render him will oblige me, and will be a comfort to yourself also when you shall have known him of yourself.[4]

[2]Papers of James Madison, Library of Congress (MS).

[3]Orange, Nov. 19, 1793, Papers of the Breckinridge Family, Library of Congress (MS).

[4]Monticello, Oct. 25, 1793, *ibid.*

Armed with these letters of introduction to an influential citizen of Lexington, Toulmin set out from Winchester to visit Kentucky, leaving his family at Hagerstown. During his winter in Lexington he first issued a prospectus for a private school.

> H. Toulmin proposes to undertake the tuition of 20 young gentlemen in the neighbourhood of Danville, in English and in classical learning.
>
> It will be a leading object with him to make them well acquainted with the grammar of their native language, and to form the habit of speaking, reading and writing in that language with propriety.
>
> Besides rendering them familiar with Geography and with the theory and practice of Arithmetic; he will instruct them in such other branches of the Mathematics as may be adapted to their age and to their destination in life. Above all he will be anxious to prepare them for becoming useful members of society and patriotic citizens.
>
> His terms will be, for a quarter's tuition, four dollars & a quarter, —and for board forty dollars a year. Washing is included. The vacations at Midsummer and at Christmas, will be the same as they are at the Lexington Seminary.
>
> Jany. 1794.
>
> Five dollars (instead of 4 & ¼) will be the terms for those who are instructed in the Latin language, or in the elements of Geometry, Trigonometry and Surveying.[5]

Before the school materialized, however, Toulmin was offered another position. On February 5, 1794, the Board of Trustees for the Transylvania Seminary—which included John Breckinridge—met and voted for Harry Toulmin to succeed the Reverend Mr. Moore as President of the Seminary, his office to commence on October 9, 1794, for which he was to have "One Hundred pounds pr Annum, and half the Tuition Money as a salary together with the small plantation now in the occupancy of Mr James Moore."[6]

Meanwhile, in August, 1793, Priestley's three sons had come to America and with the Reverend Thomas Cooper, "and other English emigrants, had a scheme for a large settlement for the friends of liberty in general, near the head of the Susquehanna, in Pennsyl-

[5]University of Chicago Library, Durrett Collection (MS).

[6]Records of the Proceedings of the Board of Trustees for the Transylvania Seminary, in Transylvania University Library Archives, pp. 64-66 (MS).

vania.'"[7] According to Joseph Priestley, Jr., "the scheme of settlement was not confined to any particular class or character of men, religious or political. It was set on foot to be, as it were, a rallying-point for the English, who were at that time emigrating to America in great numbers, and who, it was thought, would be more happy in society of the kind they had been accustomed to, than they would be dispersed, as they now are, through the whole of the United States." With bitter hindsight, writing in 1804, Priestley remarks that " Fortunately for the original proposers, the scheme was abandoned. . . . The generality of Englishmen come to this country with such erroneous ideas, and, unless previously accustomed to a life of labour, are so ill qualified to commence cultivation in a wilderness, that the projectors would most probably have been subject to still more unfounded abuse than they have been, for their well-meant endeavours to promote the interests of their countrymen."[8] The site chosen by Cooper and Priestley was on Loyalsock Creek in Pennsylvania, about fifty miles north of the town of Northumberland.

Although Toulmin was not concerned in the Priestley-Cooper scheme of colonization, he had apparently hoped that they would settle near the place he himself had chosen. His disappointment at their choice is manifest in the following letter to Breckinridge, written from Philadelphia on April 29, 1794:

> You will be concerned as I have been, to hear that Priestley and several other friends have given up Kentucky and mean to settle on the Susquehannah. I found a letter from him stating their plan, as I passed thro' Danville, and another from Cooper stating his reasons, at Winchester. Priestley has met me in Philadelphia. The principal circumstance which influences his mind, is the prospect of its being more agreeable to his father & to other friends advanced in life. He hears today from his father that he is packing up. Sixty of the Scotch Convention are arrived. The persecutions in England are beyond example. [King] George, it seems, is mad again. Cooper has printed his reasons, & I inclose a copy of them. I should add more; did I not anticipate the pleasure of shortly seeing you. It is with the liveliest

[7] Priestley, *Works*, ed. J. T. Rutt, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 239.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 239 n. Priestley's works and Dumas Malone's *The Public Life of Thomas Cooper*, 1783-1839 (New Haven, 1926) give much detail about the activities of Cooper and Priestley before emigration. In a letter of April 13, 1782, to Joshua Toulmin, Priestley mentions Toulmin's son, presumably Harry. *Works*, Vol. I, pt. i, p. 358.

sense of your goodness that I remain, dear sir, yours very sincerely & respectfully H. Toulmin.[9]

The reasons for emigration, which Cooper printed, were embodied in a pamphlet entitled "Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in America to a Friend in England on the Subject of Emigration."[10] This was again printed after Cooper's return to England as the first part of a book called *Some Information Respecting America* (London, 1794; Dublin, 1794; London, 1795). Cooper speaks optimistically and enthusiastically about his newly-adopted country, and gives particular advice to emigrants on the possibilities of various sections of the country. He makes several references to Toulmin's journal: "The Rev. Mr. Toulmin, of Chowbent, near Bolton, in Lancashire, went to America in the spring of last year (1793) with the same intentions nearly as I did. When I arrived at Philadelphia in Oct. 1793, I found a letter from him to me, of which the following is an extract. . . ." Cooper then gives a number of notes on the soil, the price of land, labor, markets, etc., from Toulmin's letter and continues: "I shall add a few more facts from his journal upon that tour, which I have since seen, before I write you the brief remarks I have made in continuation." Notes of prices and other facts are then selected from Toulmin's journal, and Cooper adds as a footnote: "Mr. Toulmin has returned from Kentucky, as I have heard since writing the above. He confirms the accounts of the beauty of the country, the fertility of the soil, and the pleasantness of the climate, which, however, he says, in winter is very rainy. The society he is pleased with. I much wish he would publish the whole of his journals. The few extracts I have made contain a small part only of the interesting facts he has noted." [11]

Henry Wansey also quotes from "Mr. Toulmin's Journal" on Kentucky in his *An Excursion to the United States of North America in the Summer of 1794*.[12] He ascribes to Joseph Priestley, the

[9] Papers of the Breckinridge Family, Library of Congress (MS).

Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to Tench Coxe on May 1, 1794, expresses similar disappointment: "I am sorry mr. Cooper & Priestly did not take a more general survey of our country before they fixed themselves. I think they might have promoted their own advantage by it, and have aided the introduction of our improvement where it is more wanting." (*Writings*, ed. Ford, VI, 508.)

[10] A copy of this pamphlet in the library of the late Judge Wilson of Lexington, Kentucky, is apparently unique. Sabin (No. 16611) did not locate any copies.

[11] (London, 1794), pp. 85-101. Passages quoted or referred to by Cooper are printed below, pages 17-48.

[12] (1796); in the second edition, 1798, the quotation occurs on pages 171-72.

younger, an account of Hagerstown in Maryland and of Frederick and Berkeley Counties in Virginia, which is so much like the descriptions incorporated in the Toulmin manuscripts as to make it certain that one was copying the other.[13]

There does not seem to be any information as to whether or not the group in Lancashire followed Toulmin to America. The virtual isolation of the country during the Embargo of 1794 which prevented Toulmin's return to England to make a report may have frightened off those who wished to emigrate. They may have been deterred by the propaganda against emigration which began to be noteworthy in the mid 1790's. A curious fact is that these arguments against leaving England are similar to those used a little earlier by the citizens of Norfolk, Virginia, to dissuade Toulmin from leaving the seaboard and trying his luck in Kentucky. [14] It is said that in 1799 Toulmin was empowered as a trustee with two others to settle immigrants upon a tract of land on Green River,[15] but no evidence of his patenting land at that date has been found. In 1803 "Harry Toulinn" received grants totalling 40,000 acres in Christian County, south of Green River.[16]

Priestley's letters occasionally give us glimpses of Harry Toulmin during his first years in Kentucky. On December 20, 1794, Priestley promises an English correspondent to send some newspapers on to Toulmin, "but he is as much out of the world to us as he is to you, and the post is very tedious and expensive." On February 10, 1795, he reports: "The parcel for Mr. Toulmin, containing money, was not sent immediately, on account of the road to Kentucky not being reckoned safe. Kentucky is in another world with respect to this part of the country. If we get a college here, I hope we shall get him for a tutor." Again in August 1795 after complaining of the length of time of transit between England and Northumberland, Pennsylvania, he says, "We are, however, better situated in that respect in this place than Mr. Toulmin, in Kentucky. I heard from him lately. He has engaged for another year in their college, which, however,

[13]Compare pages 166-71 in Wansey (2d ed.) and Parts IV and V of the manuscripts below.

[14]See below, page 20.

[15]Katherine Megibbon, "Early Kentucky Historians, 1784-1824" (M.A. thesis, University of Kentucky, 1931), chap. v.

[16]*The Kentucky Land Grants,* compiled by W. R. Jillson (Louisville, 1925), p. 423.

by his account, is hardly a grammar school, nor likely at present to be much more." [17]

Matters at Transylvania Seminary were not all clear and untroubled. The account of the meeting of the Board of Trustees on February 5, 1794, indicates dissension in the Board and some unorthodoxy in the election of Toulmin as President. The resolution presented was to the effect that a committee of members be appointed to confer with Mr. Moore concerning his acceptance of the office of president; but the result of the vote "whether we do now vote for a president" was a majority in favor of Mr. Harry Toulmin. The minority dissented and desired it to be entered on record that the election was premature, "being about Eight months before a vacancy, and not at a stated meeting," and not unanimous, and that "it does not appear that the present teacher is not of good behaviour or well qualified." [18]

Although the election stood, the Presbyterians on the Board, who thought Toulmin's religious views "tainted with Socinian errors" [19] split off and established a separate school, the Kentucky Academy. The first year of Toulmin's administration, in spite of this opposition and the loss of students to the rival establishment, saw the founding of a library for the use of the Seminary (which later became the city library of Lexington) as well as the setting up of courses of instruction in "professional" and "non-professional" subjects. Next year Toulmin was elected "unanimously," and on June 10, 1795, a committee was appointed to erect a building for the reception of students. However, in April 1796 Toulmin resigned his position, stating that the salary was too small and the office not sufficiently permanent—since it took a unanimous vote of the Trustees each year to keep him in office.[20]

[17]Priestley, *Works*, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 285, 295, 314. Later references to Toulmin as Secretary of State of Kentucky occur on pages 412-13.

Cf. Gilbert Imlay, *Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America* (3d ed., London, 1797), p. 173 note: "The editor is informed that, by a letter from the Rev. Mr. Toulmin, dated Lexington, February 14, 1795, it appears, that the emigrations to Kentucky the preceding autumn amounted to 14,000 people; that he himself rents a country-house, out-houses, and 30 acres of land (including a peach-garden), for 18£ sterling a year, about 1 mile distant from Lexington."

[18]Records of the Proceedings of the Board of Trustees for the Transylvania Seminary, pp. 64-66. Breckinridge, of course, was one of those who voted for Toulmin.

[19]Robert Davidson, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky* (1847), p. 290 *et seq.*, gives a strongly anti-Toulmin account of the controversy. The Kentucky Academy in 1798 united with the Seminary to form Transylvania University.

[20]Robert Peter, *Transylvania University* (Louisville, Ky., 1896), pp. 49-67. Toulmin's address of resignation is said to be in the *Kentucky Gazette*, April 9, 1796.

With this resignation Toulmin's career as minister and educator came to an end, and he was for the rest of his life identified with the legal profession—first as Secretary of State of Kentucky, from 1796 to 1804. He was then appointed superior court judge of the Tombigbee District of Mississippi Territory. In 1819 he was a prominent member of the Constitutional Convention of Alabama and assisted in the establishment of that State. The "Reverend Mr. Toulmin" of Chowbent, Lancashire, had now become "Judge Toulmin" of Alabama. With his career in that State we are not here concerned. Toulmin died in 1823, after contributing notably to his adopted country. He left a large family. Ann Tremlett, his first wife, had accompanied him to America with four children all under five years of age. One daughter, Hannah Lindsay Toulmin, died after arrival in Virginia. Five more children were born to Harry and Ann Toulmin, and after Ann died Toulmin married Martha Johnson and they had two children. Several branches of the family survive.[21]

A number of compilations of laws and legal studies were made by Toulmin. In 1802 he compiled *A Collection of All the Public and Permanent Acts of the General Assembly of Kentucky*, and in 1804-6 *A Review of the Criminal Law of the Commonwealth of Kentucky*. He wrote *The American Attorney's Pocket Book* in 1806 and in 1807 *The Magistrates' Assistant*. Later he published digests of the laws of Alabama and of the statutes of Mississippi.

Toulmin is also generally credited with the authorship of two tracts on Kentucky: *Thoughts on Emigration. To Which are Added, Miscellaneous Observations Relating to the United States of America: and A Short Account of the State of Kentucky. . . .* Printed in October, 1792; and *A Description of Kentucky, in North America: To which are Prefixed Miscellaneous Observations Respecting the United States.* Printed in November, 1792. The *Description of Kentucky* and the "Miscellaneous Observations" consist of paragraphs from Gilbert Imlay, Jedediah Morse, Brissot de Warville, and a host of other writers on the United States, and as such they form an anthology of great interest to the prospective

[21] "The Toulmin Family in America," Transylvania University Library Archives, Lexington, Ky. For the later period of Toulmin's life see the acount in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. Letters for this period exist in the Library of Congress (Letters of James Madison, and Correspondence of the Breckinridge Family). T. M. Owen apparently had access to much of Toulmin's correspondence for the Alabama period. See *Report of the Alabama History Commission*, Dec. 1, 1900, pp. 186, 303.

emigrant. The *Thoughts on Emigration* is a very useful essay on the points to be considered by anyone contemplating emigration. The ascription to Toulmin seems to be based on the initials, "H.T." which appear at the end of the book. But these initials properly belong only to the last quotation, a letter headed "Objections to Emigration Considered," which—like other parts of the book—was taken directly from the *Annals of Agriculture* (Volume XIX [1792-93]). There is no proof that Toulmin was *not* the author of these two (or three) works, but there are certainly reasons for doubting his authorship.[22]

Toulmin's real description of Kentucky—the journal printed here—seems to have eluded biographers of Toulmin and bibliographers of Kentuckiana,[23] and it was never published. Few contemporary references, aside from those quoted above, have been found. The originals, it is presumed, went to England, and the source of the material printed below consists of contemporary copies of several manuscripts bound together and labeled "Toulmin's Manuscripts."[24] Internal evidence suggests that the copies were made by someone close to Toulmin, perhaps his wife (the handwriting does not seem to be Toulmin's) soon after they were composed and before the originals were sent to Lancashire. On one page occurs the note, "I can get no more transcribed before I leave town. Philadelphia May 1st 1794." The blank leaves at the beginning and end of the bound volume are watermarked 1814 so it is logical to conclude that the manuscripts were collected and bound about that time (i.e., during Toulmin's lifetime).

Possibly there were other similar manuscripts by Toulmin which are not included in the Huntington Library volume. An indication that some of his writings of that period were printed is found in a book by Charles William Janson, who left England for America, as did Toulmin, in the spring of 1793, but who thirteen years later returned to his native country and published *The Stranger in America* (1807). In Chapter XXXIII we find the following:

> Every article of life in Kentucky is about half [again?] the price required on the sea-coasts. Lest any reader should be prepossessed so

[22]The bibliographical details are discussed in a "Communication" by Marion Tinling in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XXXIII (March 1947), pp. 678-81.

[23]Willard Rouse Jillson, *A Translyvania Trilogy* (Frankfort, Ky., 1932) includes a bibliography of works by Toulmin and reference material concerning him.

[24]The MS was obtained by the Huntington Library in 1922 from the heirs of Robert Alonzo Brock and is now catalogued as Brock 8.

irretrievably as to be resolved to ascertain the truth of my observations, I beg him first to peruse the following, made by Mr. H. Toulmin, a district judge, and residing at Frankfort.

After describing the difficulty and expense of travelling, which, by the bye, he tells you, "that Englishmen frequently do not learn till they have spent all their money!" or in other and plainer words, that they are ruined by the length, difficulty, and expense, of reaching the place of their destination; Mr. Toulmin descends to the minutiae of living. He says that wheat is half a dollar per bushel. . . .

This gentleman next presents a scheme for purchasing and stocking a farm, and laying in a year's provisions, with the small sum of 172£. 19s. British; and which, like all other American speculations, is extremely flattering when viewed upon paper. . . .

All this sounds pleasing to the ear, and appears satisfactory to the eye, but Mr. Toulmin was no judge, it seems, of the cost of this farmer in arriving with his family at the place of purchase. Indeed, it appears beyond his calculation, for he very judiciously puts it under the sweeping observation—"that Englishmen frequently do not learn it (to travel) until they are ruined." At a nearer guess, I can inform him, that it will cost nearly double the contemplated price of this farm before he can place his family upon it; . . . It will not be amiss also to take in view that Mr. Toulmin holds a large property on the very spot which he describes; and that, being a man of influence, and a district judge, every emigrant in some degree adds to his fortune and his power.[35]

In another chapter (XX), Janson quotes several pages on the "Welsh Indians" which he says were "published by Mr. H. Toulmin, a gentleman of respectability at Frankfort, in Kentucky . . . [who] observes that he had it from Mr. John Childs, of Jessamine County." [36].

To return once again to the *Thoughts on Emigration* ascribed to Toulmin, it would be convenient to be able to state categorically that he did write the pamphlet, for it is plainly preliminary to his

[35] *The Stranger in America* was reprinted in 1935 with an introduction and notes by Carl S. Driver. The passage quoted occurs on pages 449-51 of that edition. The remarks attributed to Toulmin on the cost of travel and of settling on a farm are not part of the Huntington Library MSS.

[36] Pages 282-86. The *Palladium*, a weekly newspaper published at Frankfort, contained a letter on the subject in 1804 from Harry Toulmin. See R. T. Durrett, *Traditions of the Earliest Visits of Foreigners to North America* (1908), pp. 57-61.

manuscript reports. In it are outlined not only the "reasons for thinking of a removal; the discouragements attending it; the most eligible country for removing to" but also "the steps to be taken by those who have it in contemplation." It gives in detail a plan for emigration in groups, the information that must be sought, the plan of organization, arrangements for sending "a proper person for the purpose [of making inquiries] to America" and for defraying expenses by subscriptions. "Persons emigrating in this manner upon mature enquiry and deliberation, and forming a society among themselves, would probably never feel that dissatisfaction which some have expressed in removing to America." Finally, according to the author of this pamphlet, the most desirable place to investigate first was Kentucky. And "if in casting our eyes over a country, we behold fertility of soil, simplicity of manners, equality of rights;—upon these would we fix our attention."

This, it seems evident, was much the plan followed by the group which sent Toulmin as their agent to make inquiries and even to buy land for them. The subjects on which the representative was to get information were specific:

> the price of land in different situations, and under different circumstances;— the expences of building,— the leading objects of the American farmer, in the situation which should be fixed upon—his implements of husbandry,— the use made of newly invented machines for sowing,— hoeing,— threshing. Let them enquire in what particular employments, hands are most wanted,—into the price of labour, provisions, houshold utensils, &c.—what articles might be most advantageously taken from Europe. Let them obtain a statement of the comparative advantages of fixing in new land, and in land partly cleared and built upon. Let them inform themselves of the character of the inhabitants in any given situation,—of the proportion which day-labourers bear to proprietors of land, and to tradesmen,—whether the labouring class be so ignorant as the poor in this part of the world, . . .[27]

It will be seen that Toulmin's reports followed this pattern of inquiries pretty closely and that in one place (page 128) he labels his reports "Answers to the printed queries." This leads one to believe that even though Toulmin was not the author of this pamph-

[27] *Thoughts on Emigration* (1792), pp. 22-23.

let, he probably knew it and was guided by it in his mission to the new world.

Although the books on America which were printed or sold in England in the decade 1783-93 were numerous, and those dealing with Kentucky were not a few, the authoritative information about this western country available to prospective emigrants was slight. The number of books and the editions they went through is a proof rather of interest in the subject matter than of intrinsic worth. The first history of Kentucky, *The Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucke,* by John Filson, was published in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1784. It went into a number of editions and was translated into French and German. In 1786 appeared Alexander Fitzroy's *The Discovery, Purchase and Settlement of the Country of Kentuckie in North America,* which is a fifteen-page digest of Filson's book, without acknowledgement. Jedediah Morse published *The American Geography* (1789), in which the description of Kentucky is taken word-for-word from Filson. Gilbert Imlay's *Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America* was published in 1792 and several times republished. Though written in the form of letters from a resident of Kentucky, and citing current events, Imlay actually left the United States at least eight years before the publication of this book. The *Description of Kentucky* (1792) consists entirely of quotations from Morse and Imlay, and the attached "Miscellaneous Observations" are a hodgepodge of these two authors and Brissot de Warville (1792), Eddis' *Letters from America* (1792), Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787), Bartram's *Travels* (1791), St. John de Crevecoeur's *American Farmer's Letters* (1782), the *Annals of Agriculture,* and a few others. Among all of these, few dealt directly with Kentucky later than 1785. Between that year and 1792, when Kentucky became a state, many immigrants from New England and the South, besides natives of Europe (mainly from Germany and Great Britain and Ireland) had changed the region. An up-to-date guide such as Toulmin could have supplied to the emigrant, therefore, was much needed.

That lack cannot, of course, be in any way compensated for by printing Toulmin's reports now. But the value to the historian of just such detail is almost as great. Toulmin, moreover, had special qualifications for the task of describing the "western world." He was a man of astonishing versatility, as his career in America proved.

He came from a rural community, and he had studied Arthur Young's *Annals of Agriculture*. He had, therefore, a practical as well as theoretic knowledge of farming. He was a close observer of all he saw. What is perhaps even more important, he had the capacity of choosing well-informed settlers and extracting from them all they knew. He was able, therefore, to test the value of his own observations by the greater experience of successful farmers, to judge what was usual and what unusual. In addition, he was a man of education, able to describe the land through which he passed and to discriminate between the important and the trivial. His plain style, occasionally enlivened by a good phrase, is well suited to his purpose.

*September 12, 1947*

MARION TINLING
GODFREY DAVIES

# THE WESTERN COUNTRY IN 1793

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# I

## *Journal of a Voyage to North America by the Reverend Harry Toulmin, late of Chowbent, Lancashire*

At nine o'clock on Tuesday morning, May 14, 1793, we sailed from Bristol in the ship, "Sisters," bound for Norfolk, in Virginia, though she belonged to Portland in the state of Massachusetts. Our ship, according to custom, was navigated by a Bristol pilot and his men, till we came off the island of Lundy, about eighty miles from Bristol. From thence he returned on Thursday morning and we proceeded with a northerly wind and pleasant weather. The wind and weather continued favorable to us till Monday, the 27th, by which time we were in latitude 44°58′N, and in longitude 33°5′. So remarkably had we been favored that we began to calculate upon the possibility of completing our voyage in less than a month. On Tuesday, however, we had some strong gales which continued with occasional rain for the space of two or three days. The sea running high, we were tossed about a good deal, and though we were never in the least danger it was enough to give some of the females the full expectation of going to the bottom. The most unpleasant circumstance attending it was that it renewed that sickness which had left most on board. As the gales abated, the wind got more to the west, so that we were obliged to make a southerly course, with a view to avail ourselves of the trade winds. On Wednesday, the 5th of June, being in the latitude of 34°31′ and in the longitude 39°54′, we fell in with a northerly wind, which, to our great satisfaction, enabled us to steer again towards the west.

Being arrived in a latitude so much more south than what we had been in a week before, the weather became considerably warmer, and the sun being more directly over our heads than in northern latitudes we had recourse to an awning of blankets upon deck for the sake of shade. Fahrenheit's thermometer, at one o'clock P.M.,

stood at 75° in the shade and at 82° in the sun. I covered one thermometer with a bit of white cloth, and another with a bit of black cloth. In half an hour the thermometer covered with black rose six degrees higher than it was before, whereas the other rose only one degree: a plain proof of the advantage of white hats when one is exposed to a fervent sun. A similar experiment, made at another time, showed that *white* is much cooler than *green*. We were destined, however, to experience much warmer weather than this, and found it necessary to have a proper awning of sails spread for shade over the quarter deck. I frequently registered the heat and subjoin the account at the end of this letter. Our northerly wind having continued but a little while, we were obliged to pursue our southerly course and it was not till we had passed the Tropic of Cancer that we fell in with the trade wind. It was the 16th of June before we were able to make for the west, when our latitude was 23°20′, our longitude 45°53′. We had then but light winds; they continued so till the last of June or first of July, when they became somewhat brisker, and on the 2d we began to recover the latitude we had lost, and pursued a northeast course. We were then in latitude 24°45′, longitude 66°4′.

You will no doubt be anxious to hear what incidents happened to us on the voyage. The principal occurrence took place in the course of the first week. On the Saturday morning we observed a ship at a considerable distance, seemingly in pursuit of us; we conjectured it was either a French or English privateer, but as we had nothing to do with the sons of violence on either side, we gave ourselves little concern about the matter, and pursued our course before a brisk and favorable wind. In the evening, however, the breeze abated and by seven o'clock on Sunday morning, latitude 49°33′, longitude 9°38′, she got up with us and, hoisting English colors, saluted us with a gun. In obedience to the signal our ship lay to and hoisted the thirteen stripes, the colors of the United States. A boat was immediately sent out by the privateer and very quickly conveyed to us, amidst the shouts of their companions, eight or ten men armed with cutlasses and pistols. Our captain was immediately called upon to get out his long boat, which he refused to do, alleging that he could not do it with convenience and that as he belonged to a neutral port they had no right to expect it. He was asked for his papers to prove that he was an American, and was desired to accompany some of the party to the privateer. This he did, and whilst he

was on board the ship, the English flag was taken down and that of the French Republic hoisted in its place. The men, in the meantime, who remained on board with us, behaved with perfect decorum, and the officers apologized to us for the trouble and alarm they gave, saying that what they did was not for the sake of plunder but in conformity to the laws of war. We invited them into the cabin, placing wine and other refreshments before them, of which they partook very heartily. We informed them that though we were born in England we were now becoming citizens of America, that we were hearty well-wishers to the cause of liberty in France, that some of us were leaving England because we abhorred the idea of contributing to a war against France, and could not avoid anticipating the extinction of liberty in our native land. Upon their intimating doubts of the truth of this representation, we appealed to our letters of introduction, which were ready to show them.

Whilst this was passing, our captain returned in no little agitation, saying that the passengers being English they must be taken prisoners to France. It was very fortunate that four or five in our ship could speak French very well, for those of the Frenchmen who could speak English spoke it but indifferently. We alleged that we were not merchants but mere passengers, who had no property on board which could be considered as a lawful prize. Our trunks were therefore brought upon deck and examined, but as nothing except wearing apparel was found, they did not examine one half of them. Most of mine were in our room, but as my wife and children were in bed, they politely declined looking into my boxes; indeed they behaved in such a manner that she felt not the least alarm. The common men, however, who had labored hard at their oars all night in order to overtake us, and fully expected a prize when they came up with us, murmured among themselves, and expressed much dissatisfaction at the backwardness of the officers to seize us. It was said, indeed, that the men were aristocrats or, at least, totally ignorant of the nature of the cause in which they were engaged, and that the officers (who were of democratical principles) were forced to use much severity to keep them in order. The boat was put off a second time, and took the captain, Mr. V., and another who spoke French well. Upon their getting on board the privateer, the captain behaved much like a gentleman, brought out a bottle of good wine, but informed them at the same time that they were his prisoners. They remonstrated that they had proved that they had nothing but

wearing apparel, and the letters of mine, which Mr. V. read (particularly one from our excellent friend to Mr. F. of Boston) convinced them that to make prisoners of us would be to harass the friends of liberty. He therefore gave up the point, expressing at the same time a wish that as they had been many days from port we would accommodate them with any necessaries we could spare. Accordingly our captain and our two fellow passengers returned and the party from the privateer left us, after a stay of four hours, with wishes of a good voyage, being supplied by the ship with coals, spirits, poultry, and portable soup.

On May 22d, latitude 47°12′, longitude 16°10′, we descried another sail, in which our *fears* afforded us the prospect of another privateer, whilst our hopes whispered to us that it might be a ship ready to convey to our friends in England the news of our safety so far. It proved, however, to be an American ship from Philadelphia to Nantes, loaded, as we supposed, with corn. Three days after this, at nine in the evening, latitude 45°22′, longitude 24°31′, we found ourselves in the center of a fleet which seemed to enrich the whole of our horizon. We soon received the signal to hoist our flag, and were presently boarded by the assistance of a 50-gun ship which, with another vessel or two, was convoying a fleet of merchantmen from Cadiz to England. They were, I believe, very glad to meet with us, for having been long detained by contrary winds they were greatly in want of necessaries and wished to ascertain their longitude. They were in so feeble a condition that they would have fallen an easy prey to an inconsiderable force. We eagerly embraced the opportunity of conveying to you the intelligence of our prosperous and, then, speedy progress. It was not in our power to afford them much assistance; we parted, however, with some sugar and potatoes, the want of both of which we afterwards experienced. Some of our fellow passengers furnished them with false and exaggerated accounts of the French vessel, so that I should not wonder if long ere this you had read in English papers that the American ship, "Sisters," had fallen in with the Republican privateer (Captain Horne), who boarded her with a set of French cutthroats, sword in hand, but without shoes or breeches; and after threatening to carry the passengers prisoners to France, ransacking their trunks, and devouring their provisions by outward force and private theft, stripped the "Sisters" of a great part of her stores. The fact, however, is that they were good-looking men and decently dressed. Their behavior I have already described.

On Sunday the 26th of May we spoke with the "Sally" of Salem, from Boston to Portugal.

I have already informed you that the want of a fair wind obliged us to come south of the Tropic of Cancer. Upon crossing that line, the sailors have always a custom of initiating those sailors who have never been there before into the mysteries of Neptune by shaving them with tar and dipping them into the sea. For this purpose, an hideous figure is dressed up, representing the God of the Ocean, who pretends to come out of the sea and knows upon looking round upon the crew whether there be any among them who have not before entered the torrid zone. Our black sailor played the part of Neptune, and did it with much humor and propriety. The principal thing he did was to swear the new sailors, much in the style of the *Highgate* oath, that they would not eat brown bread when they could get white, unless they liked the brown better, etc., etc. But when he swore the boys he introduced several things relative to their good behavior, which they solemnly attended to as coming from the lips of a superior being.

In the course of the afternoon on Saturday, June 22d, our attention was called to an object floating at a distance. What it was no one could clearly discern, but some thought they could see two men standing in a boat and making signals; but others were apprehensive it was nothing but a large log of timber, which would have been a very acceptable present, as we were much in want of firewood. Accordingly we stood for this singular appearance and in two or three hours we approached it. Our conjectures were all this time exercised upon it; for it sometimes appeared *white*, at another *black*, and by and by it looked *red*. Some of us thought it was a rock, others a cask, others a boat turned upside down, and our surgeon's lady took it for a medicine chest. And indeed, fanciful as the thought seemed to be, it proved nearest the truth, for upon taking up this wonderful object, respecting which we had felt so much anxiety, it proved to be nothing more than an empty chest such as tea is usually packed in. Our labor, however, was not lost, for whilst we were making to the chest a number of fish came around us, and our black man harpooned a dozen *old wives* and a dolphin, a most beautiful fish, which afforded a delicious Sunday's dinner to all on board our ship.

One of the most agreeable events which happened to us during our passage was that of the appearance of a New England ship from

North Carolina to the Isle of Saint Bartholomew on Sunday, when in latitude 23°, longitude 63°24′. The captain was glad for the sake of accommodating the passengers to purchase four geese of them at the high price of a dollar each, and a fine turkey weighing seventeen pounds at the still higher price of twelve shillings. I and two others went on board her and gave, for three little cheeses, weighing four or five pounds each, three dollars. They said they could make that or more of them in the West Indias.

Our ship, like all other American ships from Bristol which have sailed this year, had as many passengers on board as could be accommodated. Some were leaving England from a disgust of the principles and measures of the British government, whilst perhaps a greater number, without concerning themselves with public affairs, bore an involuntary testimony in favor of America by giving it the preference to their native country. Political considerations have actuated two who accompanied us, Mr. Hillier, a surgeon from Gloucestershire, and Dr. Milne, a physician, who spent some time in America a few years since but has of late resided in England. The ship we came in is of 204 tons burthen and the accommodations are superior to what we often find in merchant ships. Adjoining to the cabin are two staterooms, or closets, of about six feet long and eight feet broad. Mr. Hillier and his wife occupied one of them, and the other was filled by myself and wife, the young woman who went with us as a servant, and three children. But as our beds were not above three feet wide, two full-grown persons could not be in the same, but by means of one lying at the top and the other at the bottom. And indeed it is not very desirable to have much bed-room, as the shaking of the vessel will in rough weather unavoidably beat one from side to side. The greatest inconveniency we felt was a want of fresh air; but this was pretty well remedied by keeping the door open and making a small hole on the opposite side of the room; and except in bad weather no one objected to have the cabin windows up.

As the weather grew warmer than we had been accustomed to feel it in England, many of us slept either in the open air upon the deck or on the cabin floor; and I know not that any one suffered any inconvenience from so doing, even though he lay upon nothing but a blanket. When the heat was first experienced, I found myself very restless in the night, but apprehending it arose as much from want of exercise as heat, I bathed just before I went to bed, by having a

bucket or two of salt water thrown over me, which had the desired effect, so that I slept very well. This practice I continued all the time I was on board, and many others did the same. Besides the staterooms there were two berths in the cabin and a little one, in which our eldest child slept, together with a hammock swung from the top. For a *single* person, I think a cabin berth is preferable to one in the stateroom. As our cabin passengers amounted in all to fifteen, three gentlemen were obliged to sleep in the steerage; a part of which was divided off from that occupied by the sailors for the accommodation of passengers. The price which they paid for their passage was the same, I believe, as what the rest paid: £20, finding our wine and bedding. I paid five guineas apiece for three of our children, the eldest of whom is under five years of age. Nothing was charged for the youngest, and only ten guineas for our servant, though she fared in every respect like ourselves. Mr. Wells, who sailed three days before we did, with his wife and sons and daughters, and a servant, found his own provisions and took the whole cabin, for which he paid ninety guineas.

It will be supposed that our cabin (a room of about fourteen feet by ten) must have been pretty full with fifteen passengers besides the mate and captain. But it was very seldom that one half was there at once except at our meals. Most of us spent the greater part of our time upon the quarter deck, which extends over one half the ship and is always kept perfectly clean. Our amusements and employments were such as suited our various tastes and habits. For the first week, indeed, few were capable of any amusement. Some were so fortunate as to escape sickness altogether; but the greater part were in a very uncomfortable state for three or four days at least. Being upon deck and breathing the open air afforded the most relief, and I thought that those who had resolution to move about a little got rid of it the soonest. The children, though frequently sick for a few days, appeared to feel it less than any. After our recovery from this disagreeable state, some of us spent our time in walking upon deck; others in reading; and others in sleeping; and many concluded the day with a rubber at whist.

It was sometimes an amusement to watch the porpoises and dolphins and to observe the dexterity of a black sailor on board in darting his harpoon into them. On one day he took two porpoises in this manner, the skins of which were boiled for the sake of the oil, and a part of the flesh for food. To the sailors, after eating so much salt

beef, it was no unacceptable change, but our appetites were scarcely prepared for it. The captain had lain in for his cabin passengers a considerable number of ducks and fowls, four pigs, some dozens of bullock's tongues, several hams, corned beef and pork, pickled tripe, which was very good, and a quantity of split peas, rice, flour, and currants. Peas soup and puddings of rice and flour we found to be as agreeable food as any; for the smoke would not admit of our fowls being roasted in any other manner than in the oven. I found the advantage of adopting Dr. Franklin's plan of laying in a little bread cut into slices and baked over again in the oven. This bread kept just as well as sea biscuits, and was to my taste much more agreeable. When soaked in chocolate, it made a most agreeable breakfast. It was very fortunate for me that I took a little chocolate, as for want of milk I could drink neither tea nor coffee without being sick. Sometimes we breakfasted upon tapioca boiled in water which with a little wine and sugar is an agreeable and nutritive food. And so likewise is saloop powder, half a pound of which will go a great way. Two tablespoonfuls will be sufficient for a pint and a half of water. It is prepared like water gruel.

Every person who takes a voyage will find it very agreeable to have a little stock of raisins, prunes, lemons, oranges, and apples; and though it is the captain's place to have plenty of porter, cider, sugar, and eggs, yet it may be as well to provide against a *probable* deficiency of his stock. Sugar, indeed, would be found very valuable in case of a want of provisions. Portable soup in this view is a very valuable article to take, as a pound would sustain a man many days. We had every reason to think well of our captain and to be pleased with the provision he made for us; but the steerage passengers expressed great dissatisfaction. I believe, however, that the captain fulfilled his engagements with them, and on some voyages he probably fared no better himself. But a continual run of salt provisions does not suit the squalmish stomachs of persons unaccustomed to the sea. I should, therefore, by all means recommend it to persons intending to go in the steerage to provide for themselves. Whether they can come quite so cheap upon that plan I do not know, but I am sure they can come comfortably upon no other. A young man who came in the steerage with us paid eight guineas. A person who came with his wife and five children, the eldest of whom was ten and the youngest two years old, paid for the whole forty-two pounds, though if he had been ready to go in February a captain

from Liverpool would have taken them for twenty-six guineas, and found everything for them as steerage passengers. He mentioned to me a friend of his who lately went from Liverpool as a cabin passenger, having provisions found for him by the captain, and paid no more than fifteen guineas. Mr. Hillier had an orphan boy of ten years old from the Birmingham workhouse, whom he took in the steerage, and paid five guineas for him. His master was allowed now and then to give him a little provision from the cabin table.

All the passengers, whether in the cabin or steerage, found their own beds and bedding. What would be charged to steerage passengers who found their own provisions I cannot say. The captain told me they were taken from Ireland for three guineas; in which case they had nothing but bare ship room, and provided their own meat, water, bedding, cooking utensils, and everything. Any master of a ship who takes persons upon this plan will expect them to lay in provisions for three months, for, if the winds should be contrary, humanity would throw them upon him for subsistence; but on the other hand, they ought to stipulate to have what provisions they may have left.

It is not to be expected that a captain will allow room enough to take in water for washing, but Windsor soap will make a lather in salt water, and I am told that Castile soap will do the same; but they are both dear, and I have seen no sufficient proof of their efficacy. A check shirt will be found very convenient to those who have not a sufficient change of linen, and a jacket and trousers of blue baize, or any other dark-colored common cloth, are very convenient for going up and down the steps and for preventing better clothes being injured from the pitch when sitting upon deck. A pair of common trousers may be bought in the shops in seaport towns for four or five shillings.

Nothing is of greater importance on shipboard than having the apartments well aired. The bedding should be taken upon deck at least once a week. The bedroom should be washed and the floor sprinkled with vinegar or with camphor dissolved in spirits of wine. Indeed, I think it would be worth while to take a little lime in order to whitewash the sides and roof occasionally. It is a great object to have good water. Great care should be taken what casks are used. Some of our water was intolerable in consequence of its having been put into a rum cask, but it improved upon being exposed to the open air.

In laying in provisions, every one will, of course, consult his own taste. Tongues, hams, pickled pork and tripe, and dried and salt beef seem to be the most proper articles. But for my own part I should be more solicitous to have a good stock of vegetable food. Potatoes, apples, peas, flour, rice, oatmeal, with a few currants and raisins, would probably afford food as agreeable to persons at sea as any which could be provided. In place of one half of the biscuit which is usually laid in, I should certainly take some common household bread; loaves, if baked rather harder than is usual, might be taken for the first fortnight, and for the remainder of the voyage, cut into slices and baked over again. It would be well worth while for those who like oatcakes, to take a stone for baking them, but a chafing dish and charcoal would likewise be necessary, on account of the smokiness of the ship's fire, unless there were something to cover them when baking. Of course no one would forget butter, cheese, treacle, suet, pepper, mustard, and salt. For breakfast nothing is preferable to chocolate (which may be bought as low as 2o*d*. per lb. at Scholes', Market St. Lane), tapioca, sago, and saloop powder, though tea and coffee need not be entirely omitted; but I should think peppermint or baum [balm?] preferable to either. If a little wine or spirit can be afforded, it will be found very acceptable, and it is probable that occasion will be found for a little rhubarb and some camomile flowers.

Cumbersome furniture, as bedsteads, chairs, and tables, so far from being serviceable, will be found in the way. Instead of earthenware, wooden trenchers and tin cups or horns will be most convenient, and one article at least of every necessary utensil should be provided in wood, tin, or pewter, as everything that lies loose that will break is almost sure of being broken.

It is to be observed that for everything which is carried on shipboard a sufferance is to be taken out at the customhouse of the port from which you sail. What is designed for use on the voyage must be entered as ship's stores, for which nothing is to be paid; but for every package, or box of clothes, the customhouse officers demand one shilling. It is therefore best to have your goods put into large boxes, and when you go to the customhouse to take out your sufferance, you must say how many boxes or parcels you have, and whether they contain clothes, books, or furniture. Upon taking them to the ship, you must remain upon quay till the customhouse officers examine the contents, though they are sometimes satisfied with open-

ing the covers. A similar form is observed upon landing in America, but it costs you nothing; for the customhouse officers do not, like those of England, make you pay for giving you the trouble of examining your trunks. Upon all articles of merchandise there is a duty of 10 or 15 per cent *ad valorem.* (See the tract I have sent.)

There is a wonderful difference in expenses incurred by ships in the ports of England and America. The "Sisters" was at Bristol 52 days, and her expenses for pilotage, dock room, wharfage, and some little repairing amounted to £150. In America they would not have exceeded £15 or £20 for the same purposes. For pilotage alone, in the river, going up and down, the captain paid near £30. This difference in the charges in the British and in the American ports is probably one circumstance which enables the Americans to carry so much cheaper than the British. Their ships, too, are built with three-fifths of the money which the ships of England cost. They are navigated likewise by fewer seamen but they have better treatment and better wages. An English ship of the same size as that we came in would probably have ten sailors, whereas ours was navigated by six only; but the captain and the mate stand at the helm or mount aloft when their assistance is necessary, and I do not find that they are less respected for being more useful than those who affect a greater degree of state.

The best seaman we had on board was a black, who discovered in no respect any marks of inferiority to men of a lighter complexion. His grandfather was kidnapped when a child upon the coast of Africa; but his father is become an independent man and is the cultivator of thirty acres of his own property upon Long Island in the state of New York. Our black sailor has ten dollars (£2 5*s.*) a month. Next to him on board the "Sisters" were an Irishman and a Dane, whose wages were nine dollars a month. The Dane first went to America in a Dutch vessel, but was tempted to enter into the service of an American merchant by the prospect of better pay. The Irishman, in addition to this motive, was induced to change masters by the desire of liberating himself from the hard usage which he met with in the British service. So common is this desire that the masters of British vessels in American ports very commonly either lie off at a distance from the shore or throw their seamen into prison to prevent their escaping from them. But notwithstanding this, and the rigor of the laws, it is said that one-half of the American vessels are navigated by the sailors of Britain and Ireland, for native Americans

generally think it more profitable to plow the land than the ocean. Three of our sailors out of the six were Americans, and have only seven or eight dollars apiece. One of them was possessed of ten or twelve hundred pounds, but having been on board an English man-of-war and contracted those habits which are so common to men in that situation, a considerable part of it was soon dissipated.

But no man in our ship had so much employment as the cook, whose business it was to wait upon the passengers. His wages were only six dollars, but on account of his perquisites attending his situation it was considered to be as lucrative as any. Being under twenty-one years old, his gains went to his father. As assistant to the cook was a poor lad who, having neither father or mother, came the day before we sailed, almost naked, from a village near Bath, offering his services to the captain of our ship. He could get bread, but no clothing, by driving the plow and frightening the birds from the farmers' corn; and having made the resolution of trying whether the sea would reward him better than the land, Captain Webb happened to be the first man he met with as he was strolling along the quay at Bristol. Haply this poor outcast will one day become a happy and independent citizen of America. There seemed to be among our men a general disposition to abandon the sea as soon as they had saved enough to become cultivators of the soil. Two hundred dollars, they reckoned, would be sufficient to purchase a farm in New England and to maintain a man till the produce of his land should afford him a subsistence. Our mate (a young man of twenty-five) has a farm in that part of Massachusetts which is called the province of Maine, at the distance of about thirty miles from the sea. It is a custom in New England, it seems, for a parent who has many children to purchase a tract of new land for the older ones and to give up the management of his own estate to the youngest son, reserving to himself a maintenance out of it; for, according to the just and equal laws of that country, all the children are placed upon a level, and the parent would shudder at the thought of making five children slaves or beggars for the sake of making the sixth a gentleman.

The price of land in the neighborhood to which our mate belongs is about one dollar (*4s. 6d.*) for a statute acre. It is reckoned very fertile for that northern situation, but as trees are large and very close together it is expensive to clear the ground. He gives *10s.* an acre for cutting the trees down, which a good workman will do in about two days. They are then left upon the ground from July till

the following spring, when they are burned to ashes. The expense of this is between two and three dollars an acre. The land is then ready to receive the Indian corn without any further preparation. The produce is nearly sufficient to defray the expense of clearing the land. The second year they sow wheat but without making use of the plow. The wheat is sown upon the land whilst in the state in which it is after the stalks of the Indian corn are rooted up, and the grain is covered with the hoe.

To this farm he hopes to retire in a year or two from the vicissitudes of a seafaring life, and to cultivate in peace the grateful soil. He has a wife, who is under fifteen years of age, for early marriages are common in America. Large families are therefore frequently to be met with. He mentioned to me an old couple whom he knew who lived to see 450 descendants.

Happy as you may be to hear from us, I believe you will begin to think it time for me to close this epistle.

During the latter part of our voyage we saw a great number of vessels every day; and considering that the English have taken American ships for having French passengers on board, I think we were very fortunate in falling in with no more privateers of the Republic. We reached the Cape of Virginia on Thursday evening, when we were forced to beat about some hours for want of a pilot, which the ships are obliged to take. One came up, however, about three in the morning, and got us as far as Hampton Road in James River, where we lay at anchor on Friday night. We took that opportunity of going on shore in the boat to procure some fruit, etc., for supper. The scene which then opened to our view was totally different from anything we had ever seen before. The beach covered with lofty pines; the dry sands affording plants and flowers which in England are cultivated in hothouses at a great expense; the dwelling houses built of planks; the outhouses of small pines laid upon one another; the men and women neat but without shoes or stockings, the dress of the former being a jacket and trousers, and that of the latter a handkerchief, shift, and petticoat. Peaches at 3 doz. for 2 ½*d*. Cucumbers at 2 ½*d*. a doz. Apples as many as we had a mind to for 6*d*. Cider 2 ½*d*. a qt. Milk 6*d*. a qt. Bacon 6 ½*d*. a lb. These were the prices sterling which we gave; but as there were only two houses where we landed, and the French were continually coming on shore to them, I dare say we paid the full price.

When we got to Norfolk we found almost all the lodging houses occupied by the French refugees from St. Domingo. Everything is French here. The streets are full of the French. Public worship is interrupted by the chattering of the French. The Sabbath is broken on the billiard tables of the French. The river is covered with the ships of the French. The public houses are called in the French language: "the National Hotel," "the Hotel of the French," etc., but with all these Frenchmen there is more peace in the town at night than, they say, there would be with one crew of Englishmen.

You will not expect me who came here but yesterday, and have been all hurry and bustle ever since, to say much of the character, manners, etc., of the people. I believe the Virginians do not afford the best specimen of the American character.

Norfolk is situated in the most barren part of Virginia. The whole country does not supply the town with provisions. Animal food is therefore comparatively dear; vegetable food cheap. Oats *1s. 6d.* a bush., sterling. Butter *1s. 6d.* a lb., for the cow gives but little. Building is cheap, because the materials are cheap. The land for building upon is dear, because situations convenient for their nearness to the river are very valuable. A house of two stories, for example, six yards by four, may be built for £50 sterling, whilst the ground rent may be £30 a year. Horses are cheap, because they can be raised upon the extensive lands of this state at a small expense; but the hire of them is dear, because they ride them to death. A horse which costs but ten pounds will be hired out at a dollar a day. They go without shoes all the summer. But do not rely too much upon what I say at present, as I have not had time to procure authentic information. We give four dollars a week for our board and two dollars for each of the children. Boarding is now £33 15*s.* a year, but these prices are high on account of the influx of the French inhabitants.

We shall stay here no longer than shall be necessary in order to get cash from Philadelphia. I then think of going by way of Richmond to Shenandoah[1] Valley, to which I mean to pay very particular attention. I propose leaving my family at Hagerstown, upon the Maryland side of the Potomac, unless I see reasons to the contrary before we get there. Should any one come this year, I may be heard of at Philadelphia, at the Harp and Crown, and at Baltimore at..... Stubey's, Esq. As for returning, whether I shall return to reside in

[1]Usually written by H. T. "Shenandore."

England, that must depend upon the ideas I shall upon a further examination form of America. I am sure that my friends at Chowbent (to whom I would wish to convey assurances of my warmest regard) will not expect me hastily to decide upon a point of so much importance.

If I should determine to settle here, the question whether I shall return to make the report will entirely depend upon you who are concerned in the expense. I shall be perfectly ready, and, being an American citizen, shall fear nothing from the French privateers. Indeed, I persuade myself that perfect security will be the result of steps which will be taken to all who are removing with the view of becoming such. I need not express my wishes that you will communicate the contents of this letter and the newspapers to all who are concerned and to whom the particulars will be at all interesting.

The time admonishes me to conclude, with assurances of the regard with which I remain

Your very sincere friend

H. TOULMIN

*Norfolk, Virginia*
*July 21, 1793*

| | | Latitude | Longitude | Thermometer at 1 at noon | Thermometer at 10 at night |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sunday *June* | 16 | 23°45′ | 46°53′ | 79 | 77 |
| | 17 | 23 | 46 50 | | 79 |
| | 18 | 22 25 | 48 20 | 79 | |
| | 19 | 22 50 | 49 18 | 81 | 78 |
| | 20 | 22 34 | 50 42 | 78 | 77 |
| | 21 | 22 20 | 51 14 | 79 | 78 |
| | 22 | 23 | 51 55 | 80 | |
| Sunday | 23 | 23 1 | 53 23 | 80 | |
| | 24 | 23 17 | 55 29 | 80 | 79 |
| | 25 | 23 25 | 57 14 | 81 | |
| | 26 | 23 30 | 58 48 | 82 | |
| | 27 | 23 48 | 60 24 | 81 | |
| | 28 | 23 48 | 61 10 | | |
| | 29 | 23 58 | 62 12 | 84 | |
| Sunday | 30 | 23 57 | 63 24 | 81 | 80 |
| *July* | 1 | 23 6 | 64 34 | 81 | 79 |
| | 2 | 24 45 | 66 4 | 82 | 79 |
| | 3 | more north | | 81 | 80 |
| | 4 | do. | | 82 | |
| | 5 | do. | | 82 | |
| | 6 | do. | | 86 | |
| Sunday | 7 | do. | | 87 | |
| | 8 | do. | | 85 | 80 |
| | 9 | do. | | 83 | 80 |
| | 10 | do. | | 83 | 81 |
| | 11 | do. | | 83 | 80 |

# II

## *Reverend H. Toulmin's Journal, Virginia*

*Friday, July 19th, 1793*

ABOUT three o'clock this morning we passed Cape Henry. We were enabled to proceed with the morning's tide about half way between the mouth of James River and that of Elizabeth River. There we came to anchor till two o'clock in the afternoon, when we weighed anchor and got as far as Hampton Road by sunset. As you go up the river, you see a perfectly flat beach; but immediately behind the sand is a range of lofty pines, which have a beautiful and majestic appearance. In the evening some of us went on shore to get a little fresh provision for our supper. The general appearance of the country upon landing is totally different from anything I ever saw in England. Whether you view the country in its natural state or as improved by the industry of man, its characteristic features render it altogether unlike either the cultivated or the waste parts of Britain. The woods are composed of trees which are rare in England; and the plants and flowers which grow under them spontaneously are such as we are obliged to cultivate at much expense in hothouses. In looking over the farms, you do not see the land divided into a number of fields, some of which are covered with grass and others with corn; but rather a kind of extensive garden, which is principally occupied by the Indian corn, an elegant and luxuriant plant which grows to the height of eight or ten feet. Here you will see rows of apple trees and there rows of peach trees bending under their burthen. On one side of the house you may find a garden of cucumbers, on the other one of melons. Such were the two farms which we visited when we went on shore. The dwelling houses were made of planks nailed to a wooden frame. The floor was of plank. There were no rooms above stairs, and no glass in the windows. Adjoining the house of the master was a hut for his blacks, formed of small pine trees, laid one upon another and fastened at the end by a notch; but they were not plaistered, either on the inside or the outside. There was neither barn, stable, or cow-

house. The fences were made by piling small poles upon one another, which are continued to any length by crossing one another at the end in this manner. [Drawing of a fence with cross rails.]

The women were without shoes and stockings. Their whole dress consisted of an handkerchief, a shift, and petticoat. The men wore a jacket, trousers, and a pair of shoes. The scantiness of their clothing appeared to be the effect not of poverty but of the climate. We could get neither meat nor cheese, nor butter. We might have had fowls, or ducks, or a goose, or a pig—but we thought it too late in the day. We accordingly contented ourselves with peaches at one penny a dozen, and apples at about sixpence a peck, and cucumbers at about two pence a dozen and bacon at 6¾*d.* a pound, and milk at 6*d.* a quart and cider at 2½*d.* and, what was the most acceptable of all, some good water. With these things we returned and made a hearty supper upon bacon and apples fried together.

*Saturday, July 20th, 1793*

We weighed anchor between two and three this morning and reached Norfolk about nine. In coming up the river we passed fifty sail of French merchantmen and ships of war, who had repaired to this port in consequence of the terrible proceedings at Cap-Français. So full was Norfolk of the unfortunate persons who had fled from that place that it was not easy to meet with lodgings. We were obliged to be satisfied with one room for all our family and to make use of our own bedding. We are to pay four dollars each for a week's board, three for a servant, two for each of the children. Mr. V. paid four and a half at another house. After I had procured a lodging I delivered my letters of introduction, looked around the town, and visited the market and the printing office. The market is held every day; it is well supplied with fruit and vegetables for the table, with poultry, and with fish. But the butcher's meat is by no means equal to what we commonly have in England. It is neither so large nor so fat.

The printer, whom I saw, came from London about a year since. Though there was a weekly paper in the town and well conducted, yet he established another, and sells about six hundred copies a week, which with his other business brings in to him £600, i.e., £450, a year. The evening was spent in writing to our friends in England.

*Sunday, July 21st*

This morning Mr. V. and I endeavored to find out the Presbyterian house of worship, but so little do the people of Norfolk concern themselves with any place of the sort, that we found not one who could direct us to it. We heard a part of the prayers read to one of the Episcopal churches, and a good sermon preached to the other which assembles in the courthouse, or town hall. There are no pews in either of these houses, the congregation sitting upon ranges of open forms, which are no doubt cooler and have a pleasing republican appearance. The town, however, is not noted for its republicanism, for after the war it became the asylum of many royalists who did not find themselves so comfortable elsewhere; and since that time, several Scotch and English emigrants have settled there, who retain many of their British principles and predilections. The majority of the inhabitants however, are well affected to the constitution and government of the United States. It will appear strange that there should be two Episcopal churches in one place, when neither of them is so large but that both might well assemble in the same chapel. The division, I understand, arose from some paltry family dissensions, which have at length proceeded to such an extent as to arrange almost the whole town on the one side or the other.

Were I to judge from the appearance of Norfolk today, I should conclude that very little attention is paid to public worship and instruction by the people of this town. But the multitudes of Frenchmen who are here must make everything look differently from what it usually does. Though the Virginians are far from being religionists, yet such a thing as playing at billiards on Sunday was never heard of till the French appeared, nor did I observe any but the French disturbing the devotions of the congregation by their nods and chattering at the door.

We were obliged to spend the afternoon at home in order to finish our letters for England. I likewise wrote to Dr. Croing for letters of introduction to Carlisle.

*Monday, July 22d*

Almost the whole of this day was spent in getting together my things on board the ship and in bringing them on shore. We were forced to have permits from the customhouse, for which we paid a shilling, but they did not give us the trouble of examining our boxes. Our declaration that they contained no merchandise was sufficient.

The officer on board was a very intelligent and obliging man, and discovered not the least disposition to give us trouble.

*Tuesday, July 23d*

I walked out before breakfast to see the country about Norfolk, a very discouraging sight to the farmer. The market was quite full at five o'clock in the morning. The heat makes them hold their markets so early.

After breakfast we were busily employed in looking over our baggage and in arranging it, so as to prevent the same trouble in future. The greater part was packed up for Alexandria, meaning to have it forwarded to us at Hagerstown.

We drank tea at Mr. Stokes's. Mr. S. was at Philadelphia. However, we were so fortunate as to receive some information respecting the place from Mrs. S. and a lady who met us there. The latter mentioned a fact which shows the value of labor in Virginia. Her mother has two Negroes, coopers, whom she hires out by the year at £25 currency, which is equal to £16 15*s*. sterling. The employer provides everything for them and pays the tax on slaves.

Gay and dissipated as we have been often told that the Virginians are, the females are not so much so as to neglect the concerns of their families. So far is this from being the case that it is not unfrequent for them both to exercise the offices of milliners and mantua makers for themselves and to make the clothes of their husbands and children. From what I have seen of them, however, I do not conclude that they are more active and industrious than their sisters of England. I rather think that they are more indolent than the middling class of British females, who do not lead what is esteemed a fashionable life. Their indolence is the natural consequence of their living in so warm a climate and being surrounded by such a multitude of slaves.

Our conversation this evening turned partly upon Kentucky. The ladies seemed to feel a great aversion to it. "There was no road to it, but the road through the Wilderness, and that was exceedingly dangerous. The people who had emigrated thither were, they understood, exceedingly dissatisfied, and many of them were returning. The Indians rendered the situation of those who continued perfectly insecure."

Upon my return to our lodging, Dr. Milne introduced to me a gentleman of Connecticut, a man of extensive information and accu-

rate judgment. He has lately resided in Virginia. He has heard much of the valley between the Blue Ridge and much of Kentucky. He has a high idea of both situations; but the land in Kentucky surpasses all and he did not apprehend any danger worth regarding to those who proceed prudently in their journey to that country. He thinks highly of Connecticut; but the land is exceedingly dear in that state. Near Hartford it sells at £9 per acre. He stated a circumstance as having fallen under his observation which illustrates the different effects of plenty and of less bountiful supplies upon the human mind. In the luxuriant lands of Carolina, it is not uncommon for families to be literally destitute of bread a little before the harvest. Upon the poorer soil of New Hampshire, such a circumstance was never known. Let it be remembered, however, that an habitual attention to small gains and small savings has prevented the New Englanders from establishing a character for generosity in their dealings.

In my journal of yesterday I omitted mentioning a melancholy accident which took place upon our arrival at Norfolk. On Sunday morning, our clever black sailor was missing. It was supposed that he had tumbled over, after returning from a visit from his friends in the town; and on Monday evening he was actually found dead in the river. Application was made to me to attend his funeral as this morning. Upon going to the ship before breakfast, I was informed that he had been buried at eleven o'clock yesterday night. Being a black, the laws of the town forbade his being buried among white people; and he was therefore taken to a burying ground a few miles from town appropriated to Negroes, and was attended to the grave by a minister of his own color.

I spent an hour this morning in drawing up an account for the Norfolk newspaper of the conduct of the French privateer towards us; for the most exaggerated details of that affair had been circulated in the town and greedily received by those who wished to represent the Republic of France as unfriendly to the United States of America.

*Wednesday, July 24th*

This day, likewise, my time has been partly occupied in disposing of my baggage. I have been to see two young gentlemen of the customhouse, who were enabled to afford me some information concerning the roads in Virginia and the most eligible route to the valley

behind the Blue Ridge on the banks of the Shenandoah. They were both born in that country. The father of one of them, whose name is Taylor, removed with his family some years ago from Shenandoah Valley to Kentucky. His father is now dead and he, having a place in the customhouse, resides at Norfolk. But his mother and the rest of the family still continue there and are greatly pleased with their situation. They live at Bear Grass near the falls on the Ohio. He seemed almost surprised at my inquiring of him whether the soil of Kentucky were much superior to that of Shenandoah Valley. The fertility of Kentucky, he replied, was inconceivable; no country could be compared with it. Even in point of society he said that it is much to be preferred to Shenandoah Valley. He says there is more of an unity of character; whereas those who inhabit the banks of the Shenandoah are from a great variety of countries, and have among them a number of Dutchmen. It is true there were, he says, among the early settlers of Kentucky many unfortunate men; but the bulk of the inhabitants are very respectable characters. In point of security from the Indians, he considers the settled parts of Kentucky as equal to any situation in Virginia.

*Thursday, July 25th*

This morning a gentleman of the town with whom I have some little acquaintance introduced me to Commodore Taylor, a principal revenue officer and uncle to the young gentlemen already mentioned. He has also an estate in Kentucky, where he means to fix all his sons, proposing to send one thither this year. But he has not an acre of land to dispose of. He gives exactly the same account of Kentucky that his nephew does. He has no doubt but that it will become the first state in the Union. Its wonderful fertility, its excellent climate, its central situation, its communications with the sea, and with almost all the other states, cannot fail of raising it to this eminence. Some time since, he took a number of servants thither to cultivate his estate. He hired a wagon with four horses and driver from Fredericksburg to Redstone on the Monongahela ( miles) for £18 15*s.*, in which he took two thousand pounds weight of goods and the children of his slaves. He paid the expense of the horses and wagon, out and home, but he had the chance of making something of the back carriage. The men and women walked. At Redstone he purchased a boat for £6 9*s.* in which he carried down the Ohio thirteen horses, twenty-one Negroes, thirteen white people, and a hun-

dred pounds worth of bulky articles. The waters of the Ohio do not commonly rise high enough for a convenient passage down the river till November.

Good new land, near Lexington, is now worth 7*s.* an acre. A man can do as much in one day towards raising a subsistence upon the lands of Kentucky as he can do in four days in the valley of Shenandoah; but I think it right to make some allowance for the partial judgment of so warm an advocate for the infant state. Goods, he says, are nearly as cheap as at Fredericksburg, especially light articles. Salt is one dollar (4*s.* 6*d.*) at the salt works, but double that price at a distance from them. He has been told that an attempt has been made to establish a fustian manufactory there. I think he must refer to an attempt of that kind in the Cumberland settlement. Horses are cheaper there than in Virginia. They make a great deal of brick.

*Friday, July 26th, 1793*

This morning Commodore Taylor called on me again, previously to his returning home near Fredericksburg, with a letter of introduction to his brother in Kentucky, in which he informed him that I am to have the use of his house for myself and family during the winter, together with everything which I may want which his estate produces. My time before dinner was principally employed in writing letters to several friends in America from whom I thought I could obtain such information as it is the object of my journey to procure.

Finding it very desirable to leave Norfolk as soon as possible on account of the heat and the quality of the water, I had endeavored to obtain some money to proceed. Mr. Hillier had brought all his money in bills upon the Bank of England, and upon the house of Hammets in London. He was very ready to accommodate me, but upon application to the monied men, not one of them would look upon the bills. "The Bills might be forged. The Bank itself was only a bubble, and soon or late must burst."

The most proper method of transferring money to America is by letters of credit on respectable houses, by bills of exchange, or Spanish dollars, which are worth only 4*s.* 4½*d.* in England, but pass for 4*s.* 6*d.* sterling in America, or 6*s.* currency. Mr. Ogburne, a friend whom I was introduced to at Norfolk, after many ineffectual attempts, procured one hundred dollars for a draft of mine on Mr.

Crammond, which Mr. Warren Ashley did me the favor to indorse. We dined with Mr. O., and obtained some information respecting the price of provisions, etc.

In the evening Mr. Stokes returned and called upon us. If a person in England wants to purchase in the American funds, the best method is for him to request a friend in America who has credit enough to do it, to buy in by means of a bill of exchange upon him, payable to some one in England, who has an account standing with the person in America, from whom you receive cash for that purpose. The interest is paid quarterly, and may be transmitted by the same method reversed. The greatest mistake in his life, he says, was his settling in Norfolk, instead of Philadelphia or some other great northern commercial situation. The climate and country are very unpleasant.

*Saturday, July 27th*

This morning I left Norfolk; but before I leave it, I must give some little account of the town. Norfolk is one of the largest towns in Virginia. I should think it stands upon as much grounds as Taunton or as Wigan; but it has a very different appearance. The houses in some of the streets do not stand quite close to one another, but have small spaces between them. The whole town was burned down by the British during the late war, but it is now larger than ever. Some of the buildings are of brick; but the greater number are of wood. A frame is first made, which is supported by logs, at the distance of two or three feet from the ground. Upon the frame, boards are nailed on the outside; the inside being covered with laths and plaister. The roofs are covered with cypress shingles, which are three inches broad and fifteen inches long, but as they lap over each other, only six inches of each appear. They are sold at 12*s.* a thousand. Being unincumbered with window taxes, the abundance of light which is admitted into them renders them airy and cheerful. Good glass costs at the rate of sixpence for a square of eight inches by ten. A friend who has built a neat house, which is thirty feet one way and twenty-nine the other, with cellars under, a kitchen on one side, two chambers, not quite so large as the rooms below (because the house, like many others in this country, is made rather smaller in the second story) and a house in the yard for smoking bacon in, told me it cost him £150. The land for building upon in Norfolk is exceedingly dear.

The streets are not paved. Except that a few posts are put down to guard the foot passengers, they are quite in their natural state; but, as the soil is sandy, they are not muddy except after heavy rain. The prices of house rent, boarding, and lodging are all very high. A small house in the middle of the town will cost £30 a year. I saw two large rooms, in a pleasant situation near the end of the town, which were hired unfurnished at four dollars (eighteen shillings) a week. The price of boarding is from four to five dollars a week; but you live well.

As soon as you get up, your host may possibly invite you to partake of his julep, which is a tumbler of rum and water, well sweetened, with a slip of mint in it. About seven o'clock breakfast appears, and the table is covered with tea and coffee, hams, cucumbers, and wheat and Indian bread and butter. At two or three you have a dinner of ham and fowls, or ducks, or mutton, or some other butcher's meat, cucumbers, cybelines[1]—which is a vegetable something like mashed turnips—or onions, potatoes, kidney beans, or Indian peas, which are a good deal like the seeds of kidney beans, but rather smaller. The dinner may end with a fruit pie. Your liquor is peach brandy and water, or rum and water. They have but little cider, no beer, and the water of Norfolk is reckoned very pernicious to the bowels when unmixed with spirit. Our suppers were usually cold. Indeed, the people of Virginia, I am told, eat little or no supper.

I shall have credit, I hope, in mentioning these things, not in honor of eating and drinking, but to afford some idea of the manner of living in this country. There is no better way of knowing in what manner the resources of a country enable men to live, or in what manner the climate or their inclinations may dispose them to live. Though we must be disgusted with a traveler whose whole time and mind seem to be occupied with the gratification of his senses, yet if we read for information, we have no reason to be pleased with that affected refinement which keeps one in entire ignorance of the refreshments which he met with on his journey. I shall therefore without farther apology often take notice of the fare which falls to my lot.

The dress of the people of Norfolk is much the same as that of the inhabitants of English towns. I was sorry to see [in] many of the women an affectation of English fashions and finery. It was not

[1]Cymblings?

accompanied with neatness and elegance. Perhaps the climate will not admit of it. They are sensible of this with respect to their children, and they dress them accordingly. They have frequently nothing more than a single frock, no shoes or stockings within doors, and when they go out they have a large, ugly-shaped bonnet, but well adapted to prevent their being injured by the sun—if, indeed, it be an injury to have a color natural to the climate one lives in.

Their slaves (for they still have slaves, and many, too) — their slaves, both young and old, are barefooted, and their clothes, though generally decent, are very scanty. The treatment they receive seems to be much more gentle than that of the West India slaves. I had some opportunities of comparing them, as the French from Cap-Français had brought a considerable number with them. Children of ten or twelve years old, I was informed, were brought to Norfolk naked, though a pair of breeches or a shirt was afterwards given to them in compliance with the custom of the country. "You little dog," said a lady from the Cape, with whom I sitting at dinner, to the slave who was waiting at table, "You little dog, do as I order you, or I will kill you!" and immediately enforced the threat by a box on the ear.

The country round Norfolk has a very discouraging appearance. Till you get to the woods, you see nothing but some large, neglected fields, which are covered with scarce anything but a coarse-looking grass which they call the "bustard crab-grass." These fields are open to everybody in the town who has a mind to keep either cows or horses. Accordingly you see horses, cows, and bulls (about the size of one-year old calves) belonging to fifty owners, mixing together; and so unlimited is their permission of ranging about, that they are forced to fasten bells to the cows' necks, that they may find them again. They are in general neat-made cattle, but remarkably small. I don't find that any attention is paid to their calving, and though it may be twelve months since the cow had a calf, the owner does not know whether he may expect another. You will not wonder, therefore, that they give but little milk. Indeed, they seldom milk them more than once a day. In the winter they feed them with Indian corn—with blades of that plant, and with oats in the straw. Soon after calving, a cow and calf may be had from £2 15*s.* to £3 10*s.* A calf for the butcher, six weeks old, or more, is sold from three dollars (13*s.* 6*d.*) to five dollars (22*s.* 6*d.*).

The horses are all of a slender make, but they have good spirit, and are remarkable for enduring fatigue. In a cart they are usually driven with reins, and it is very common to see two or three horses abreast. A common hackney or a cart horse may be bought for from eight to fourteen pounds, but a fine handsome horse, fourteen or fifteen hands high, of good pedigree, is worth thirty or forty pounds or more. The planters use oxen as well as horses. They draw by the yoke. They have a peculiar sort of one-horse carts in this country which are the most convenient I have ever seen for such purposes as they are wanted upon the wharves of seaport towns. They have no body and a kind of a ladder projects behind, so low that upon raising the shafts a little it touches the ground at the end and enables you to roll a cask upon the cart without any further trouble.

Just before I left Norfolk, one of the principal men in the town came to invite me to preach at the Episcopal Church the next day, which I rather wondered at, as it is one of the canons of that church that no stranger shall officiate in any congregation of it without first producing the evidences of his being a minister thereof.

I sailed from Norfolk in a little vessel belonging to Port Royal on the Rappahannock, in company with four pilots, and three planters, who had been down to Norfolk to sell their produce. Two of them were intending to follow the example of many of their neighbors, who had removed to Kentucky and whose reports of that country were such as to give them the most pleasing expectations. One of them informed me that he had received several letters from his friends in that state, some of which detailed the prices of the necessaries of life. Indian corn sells for 5*s.* 3*d.* the barrel (containing five bushels of the Winchester measure); wheat at 2*s.* 6*d.*—I always reckon in sterling money except where the contrary is expressed; bacon is 3*d.* a lb.; butter and cheese, 3*d.* and 3½*d.*, in the greatest abundance; beef, 1½*d.* The land produces from forty to seventy bushels an acre.—I always speak of the statute acre. A first-rate cow sells for £2 12*s.* Some newly-calved cows will give four gallons of milk in a day. Horses are higher than formerly on account of the demand for them in the army. Cloth is as cheap as at Fredericksburg; shoes are dear. If you find leather, a man will make a pair for a dollar (4*s.* 6*d.*). The people of Kentucky send their produce not only to New Orleans but to Philadelphia, by the Gulf of Mexico. A vessel of cottons has actually sailed down the Monongahela, Ohio, and

Mississippi, to the West India Islands and Philadelphia, where she was disposed of, the merchants returning by land to Pittsburg. Fredricksburg, near to which my informant lives, is about  miles from Redstone, where they take boat for the Ohio. A wagon may be got at Fredericksburg for the journey for £15, and the charges of the horses and wagoner out and home; or it may be purchased there for £12, and the horses for £7 or £8 each. It will travel from sixteen to twenty miles a day. Several families are going out this winter with the person from whom I received the intelligence.

*Sunday, July 28th*

About four o'clock this morning we arrived opposite to Urbanna, and at five I went on shore at the seat of Mr. Wormeley, whom I had the mortification of finding not at home. His mother, an elderly lady, was at home but not being risen I walked about the plantation. There, for the first time (for as yet I had only seen Norfolk and its neighborhood), I saw a tolerably good pasture, a field of tobacco, and two fields of good clover in a wheat stubble. I had seen fields of Indian corn before. Mr. Wormeley's cows are rather larger than those at Norfolk. His sheep are of the hornless breed, with long legs and necks. His estate consists of several thousand acres. Tobacco is cultivated less upon it than formerly, as he reckons it not so profitable as wheat. The soil is the same as that round Norfolk, a white sand. The price of horses nearly the same. He mixes with their corn chopped straw, for preparing which he has a machine of the same kind as those in England.

I breakfasted with Mrs. Wormeley, a fine old lady who seems to have superintended the economy of a large family in a very able and active manner. Under her direction they have been in the habit of manufacturing for their own use calicoes, striped cottons for gowns, counterpanes, petticoats, woolen goods, linen, and bedticking. They make no cheese, as they cannot make any which will keep. It was the first time I had met with solid butter, as it was brought to table with a lump of ice upon it from the icehouse. Mrs. W. has two sons who are settled in the Valley of Shenandoah. There the climate is so much better that they are not subject to those violent gusts of wind which are frequently fatal to fruit in this part of the country. Many people of property had retired to that valley, which circumstance has rendered the land exceedingly dear there. Those who have emigrated to Kentucky, she conceives, are not people of fortune, but

of desperate fortune. So valuable are the lands become behind the Blue Ridge that her son parted with an estate of 1,900 acres in Berkeley County for £4,500. It was all improved and divided into fields, but not some of the best land in the country. There were seventy acres of meadow land. The rest were in wheat and in Indian corn. There was a small farmhouse, a good barn, and a mill for manufacturing flour.

After breakfast, I went to a public house at Urbanna kept by Colonel Kemp, from whom Mrs. Wormeley informed me I could receive any information I wished. But I was not so fortunate as to find him at home. In my way thither I was accosted by a person who told me he came from Shropshire during the late war. I found that he knew our friend Sargent of Shrewsbury. He is by trade a bricklayer and plaisterer, and receives for his work from 7*s.* 6*d.* to 11*s.* 3*d.* a day, besides meat and drink.

All the English grain has been some time got in, through this country. The planters will be fully employed till Christmas in hoeing the Indian corn and tobacco, in getting them in, and in stripping the tobacco leaves from the stalks.

Colonel Kemp's tavern has altogether the appearance of a private house, and when you are at table you would rather take yourself to be in a boarding house than an inn. Self-preservation induced him to convert it into a tavern, as he was in danger of being eaten out of it, by the number of persons who resorted to it before, for want of a public house.

There is no regular place of worship within some miles of Urbanna. But as we were at dinner we beheld a long procession of black people, who were going to pay the last honors to a deceased acquaintance. The deceased had been buried three weeks, but they were then about to perform the funeral rites: for as their masters do not permit them to leave home on any other day than Sunday, they have contracted the habit of making two distinct affairs of burying the dead and performing the funeral service. I was glad of the opportunity of hearing a black man address his fellow servants. I followed them, therefore, to a little valley or hollow in a neighboring field, which had on one side a field of Indian corn, on another a range of pines and willows, and on another a piece of water which had the appearance of a placid lake. There, surrounded by two hundred of his fellow bondsmen, did this son [of] oppression urge upon them the duties of religion and animate them with the thought, that those

who did the will of God, whatever were their color or their station, were as the Brother, or Sister, or Mother of Christ. He dwelt with peculiar pleasure upon this idea, and though he introduced the Calvinistical doctrine, his discourse was for the most part practical and towards the conclusion of it, partly through the unusually mournful tone of his voice, partly through the solemnity of the occasion, he worked his audience to a wonderful pitch of enthusiasm. Yet some white people who were there could stand by with the most perfect unconcern and some white children were permitted to be playing about in the middle of the assembly.

Upon my return to the Inn, two black women, who had been informed by someone that I was a minister, came and informed me that it was the wish of their fellow servants that I would preach to them in the green before the courthouse. I replied that I was convinced I could say nothing to them which could be more useful than what they had already heard, but should be sorry if my declining to comply with their request should be considered as any mark of disrespect to persons of their color.

I was suspicious that some of the white persons had put them upon making the application to me, with the hope that it might be of some little amusement to them on this idle day; for this little, paltry place seems to abound with indolent young men, who have no religion and no business, and who kill their time on more than perhaps six days in the week at a public billiard table.

*Monday, July 29th*

Colonel Kemp having returned on Sunday evening, I was determined not to go till Monday afternoon. I found that I was sufficiently paid for staying by the information which he politely afforded me respecting the agricultural practice of the country and other interesting topics. Those who cultivate *clover,* cut it twice a year: at the beginning of June and at the end of July. There has been lately introduced into this neighborhood a new kind of wheat, which is considered as a very valuable acquisition, as it is ripe in the month of May. It was first discovered by a cultivator of Carolina, who observing among his wheat some ears which were come to maturity at that early season, gathered and sowed them by themselves in the following autumn.

In the course of the morning, I fell in with a Baptist minister who was passing through Urbanna. He was dressed in a blue linen coat,

and no part of his dress discovered his profession. Indeed, his trade is planting; and though he preaches in his own neighborhood, and occasionally at the distance of thirty miles from home, he has never received a farthing for his labors; and I am told that many of the Baptist ministers in this country make it a point of conscience to dispense their services upon this generous plan. His name is John Mullins. He belongs to the Association. There are some who do not, but what the ground of their separation is, he does not know. Some, he thinks, have been disowned by the body on account of Arminian principles; but the Unitarian doctrine is unknown among them. He laments the existence of slavery. He sees its ill effects upon the minds and manners of the people. The difficulty is, what steps are to be taken to accomplish the abolition with safety to the country and with advantage to the slaves. The question is to be agitated at the next meeting of the Baptists; and he apprehends that a petition to the legislature will be the result. He mentioned to me that many ministers and their congregations had gone back to Kentucky and were perfectly satisfied with the change.

Urbanna was formerly a place of some trade and importance; for as the customhouse for the Rappahannock was there, the vessels were obliged to clear at that port. But the customhouse being removed to Port Royal, it is now a deserted village and as the land in the neighborhood is engrossed by a few great proprietors there are only three or four store- or shopkeepers in the town, besides some sauntering young men, the vacuity of whose countenances unites with the grass-covered streets to give the place a most melancholy aspect. I believe there are not above a dozen houses in the town. I had some thoughts of purchasing a horse in Urbanna, if I could get credit till I arrived at Richmond; but finding in some of them an evident disposition to take advantage of a stranger, I determined to have nothing to do with them. I therefore procured two horses, for each of which I was to give a dollar, and half a dollar for a Negro to accompany me. I was ready to mount when Colonel Kemp informed me that there was no public house in that part of the Mattapony River to which I was going, and thinking it would be too late to stop at a private house, I deferred my departure till daybreak on Tuesday.

*Tuesday, July 30th*

At sunrise the horses came; but when I offered the two dollars and a half, the man insisted upon three dollars, though Colonel

Kemp joined with me in saying he understood I was to have them for the money I had offered. I told him that he might do as he pleased; that I considered two dollars and a half too much; that I would use my feet rather than pay exorbitantly for horses and would take the chance of water carriage for my baggage. Accordingly my portmanteau was taken down again, and the horses sent home, and I began to take out what linen I wanted, when Colonel Kemp offered to send his servant two miles with the portmanteau to a house at which it was probable I might meet with a one-horse chair. This I readily accepted, paying for a bottle of porter *1s.* 10*d.* and for two dinners, one breakfast, two suppers, two nights' lodging, tea, and some tumblers of rum and water, ten shillings. It is much the same I should have had to pay in England, except that the breakfasts and dinners would not have been so good, I must have had wine after dinner, and have given half a crown or three shillings to servants.

In calling at Mr. Healey's, the house to which I had been directed, I thought myself very fortunate. He gave me a friendly reception, made me partake of a good breakfast with him, and let me have a good horse and chair and boy for one dollar; so that I saved nearly two dollars, and I hope paved the way to Urbanna for better treatment of the next traveler. I was told that the usual terms at Urbanna are but half a crown or three shillings a day. Mr. Healey like most planters in this neighborhood manufactures for his own family, but in all the operations of carding, spinning, and weaving, they derive no advantage from our English improvements. He showed me some good cotton of his own growing of which I send a specimen. The planters sell it to the merchants at Urbanna for one shilling sterling a pound. But it is sold with the seeds in it, just in the state in which it is picked out of the ball, for threepence; for four pounds of it in this state is allowed to make one pound when freed from the seeds, but if it be cleaned carefully it will make more. An acre of land will at a medium produce five hundred pounds weight of cotton. Sometimes it has produced a thousand pounds, and sometimes not a hundred pounds. The land may be plowed for it by one ox; and one hand will attend ten acres of cotton. It is planted in the first two weeks in May. It grows ripe very irregularly: some of the plants being ripe by the first of September, and others not till the end of November. One person, full grown, with a number of children, will gather it, but as it is irregular work, it is difficult to say what quantity

of labor the gathering requires. They often sow wheat among the cotton before it is gathered for the next year's crop.

Mr. Healey makes five or six hundred yards of cotton in a year, but they sometimes use a little wool with it. In conversing upon the character of the people of the country, Mr. Healey lamented the prevailing disposition of the young Virginians. Surrounded everywhere by slaves whose business is to work for the white people, they consider labor as disgraceful. Hence many more are trained to the profession of the law than the public good requires; many press into the employment of overseers; some live upon the public by going from house to house in the character of visitants; or spend one half the year in idleness or gaming, and the other in hunting in the woods. Their object is chiefly deerskins, which they sell for any price which the wants or the ignorance of the purchasers will suffer them to give. The legislature has at different times interfered to lessen the prevalence of gaming, by laying a heavy tax upon billiard tables; this was at first evaded, and since the tax has been more generally received it does not appear to have produced the desired effect. Nothing will do it but the circumstance of industry becoming necessary and honorable.

As you go farther in the country, you find the business of hunting pursued by a more hardy race of men, who make it their regular employment. In this neighborhood, those who know the value of skins buy a doe's skin for a half a dollar (*2s. 3d.*) and get it dressed for another half. Two of them make a good pair of breeches.

No Europeans have lately settled in this part of the country, but many have gone farther westward. Some years ago Mr. Healey himself thought of removing back to Kentucky. Nothing prevented him but the difficulty of leaving a plantation in which he had comfortably settled himself. The accounts which were given of that country appeared at first to be incredible, but the repeated testimony of a variety of persons has rendered the truth of them, all together, unquestionable. Many persons on whom he could rely have confirmed them. He has known some, indeed, who for want of ability to establish themselves in the settled parts of the state, have fixed themselves on the frontiers, and having been disturbed by the Indians and not choosing to hire themselves as laborers for others, have been obliged to return to their former situations; but this has not often happened.

*Thursday, August 1, to Wednesday, August 7*

Upon my arrival at Richmond, I put up at the Eagle, which is the principal tavern in the town, a large, commodious brick house, with a long porch or gallery in the front, a convenience which for the sake of fresh air is very frequently provided in this neighborhood. In every room of this house there is a printed table of the rates at which travelers are charged, an admirable method of preventing imposition on the one hand and disappointment on the other. It follows:

RATES OF THE EAGLE TAVERN

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Breakfast | 2*s.* | i.e. | 1*s.* 6*d.* |
| Dinner & grog or toddy | 3*s.* | i.e. | 2*s.* 3*d.* |
| Cold supper | 2*s.* | i.e. | 1*s.* 6*d.* |
| A quart of Madeira wine, port, or claret | 6*s.* | i.e. | 4*s.* 6*d.* |
| A bottle of porter | 2*s.* 6*d.* | i.e. | 1*s.* 10½*d.* |
| A quart of punch | 2*s.* 6*d.* | i.e. | 1*s.* 10½*d.* |
| " " toddy | 1*s.* 6*d.* | i.e. | 1*s.* 1½*d.* |
| " " grog | 1*s.* 3*d.* | i.e. | 11¼*d.* |
| A bedroom furnished (if above stairs) | 1*s.* 6*d.* | i.e. | 1*s.* 1½*d.* |
| Horses kept at the livery | 3*s.* | for 24 hours, i.e. | 2*s.* 3*d.* |
| Gentlemen's servants | 3*s.* | per day, i.e. | 2*s.* 3*d.* |

These prices appear to be high and no doubt they are high when compared with those [of] New England. But when compared with the rates at British taverns they are not so high as at first sight they appear to be. If you are charged 2*s.* 3*d.* instead of 1*s.* 6*d.* or 2*s.* for your dinner, you are not charged sixpence or ninepence for the liquor you drink with it, nor is at all necessary that you should order a pint or a bottle of wine afterwards. If you are charged 1*s.* 1½*d.* for your bed, you are not expected to give sixpence or a shilling to the chambermaid. If you are charged 1*s.* 6*d.* for your breakfast, you have not only tea but coffee, ham, and eggs; and that the cold supper is something more than the term seems to imply I experienced to my surprise. I had desired to have a bit of cold veal, when in the space of half an hour the servant came apologizing that they had no cold veal, and spreading the table with cold ham, a broiled chicken, coffee, and bread and butter. It is very customary indeed

neither to drink tea nor to eat supper; but when one appears, it is often in company with the other. It is owing, I suppose, to this habit of eating no supper, as well as to the circumstance of their rising so early, that in both town and country they seldom breakfast later than eight and often as early as seven o'clock. I have never yet seen a gentleman make tea. If there be no female of the party, a servant waiting at the table makes and pours out the tea for everyone.

A remarkable attention is paid in this warm climate to the comfort of having everything really cold which is not designedly used warm. When you rise in the morning you do not wash in your chamber, but in the porch, lest your water by standing all night should cease to be refreshing. You are not suffered to drink any water but what is just brought from the spring. In the dining room stands a tub of water for keeping cool the melons, cucumbers, wine, and milk. Besides which, at some tables, there is a water case for two decanters, and a bowl of water to cool your glasses. Though my own habits do not render these things necessary to me, yet I believe they are adopted by the people of this country because they are comfortable: for at the same table, you may possibly see pewter spoons and pewter teaspoons, though the master of the house may be worth ten or twenty thousand pounds; a disregard of appearances and European prejudices worthy of republicans, and of the independent citizens of America. From the same spirit of independence I have seen some of the wealthiest inhabitants, and most respectable senators of the commonwealth, wearing their own household manufactures in preference to the more elegant fabrics of Manchester. They are becoming thoroughly sensible that to be truly independent the market for their produce must cease to be the sport of the crooked policy or the wild ambition of European courts. Their own prudence and love of peace will not avail whilst, though at peace with all the world, the restless spirit of intriguing statesmen in another hemisphere plunges them into the distresses of war. At this moment the planter has no sale for his tobacco, because the differences among the powers of Europe have, in a degree, shut up the market, and the merchant dreads to transport his wheat to France, lest it should be seized by the British; whilst in like manner, he dreads to send it to Britain, or Spain, or Germany, lest it should be seized by the French. What is the obvious course to be pursued in such a situation? Undoubtedly to establish a market at home: and since the United States are capable of producing everything necessary which the world

affords, to become independent of the whole world. It is true, the difference in the price of labor here and in Europe cannot at present, and I hope never will, enable the Americans to manufacture their goods as cheap as the Europeans. It is my wish that the man who has nothing but his labor to depend upon may always find in that labor a good independence. But the people of this country can afford to manufacture at an higher rate than the people of distant countries can. They now pay 2*s.* 6*d.* and 3*s.* a yard for striped nankeens (which are much worn for coats) which may be purchased at Manchester at 1*s.* 2*d.* I have been told by merchants at Richmond that they usually buy them at that price. This advance is necessary to pay the charges of freight, insurance, and duties, and to indemnify the merchant for his trouble. The Americans, therefore, can afford to manufacture this article at double the expense that the English can. It will come equally cheap to the consumer. Their produce, it is true, will not bear the same price in the home as in the foreign markets. But the difference is probably little more than nominal; for the price which is paid in England for American wheat is not merely the cost of the wheat but the cost of freight, insurance, etc., added to it. Even at present, American fabrics are found equally profitable to the wearer, though not equally elegant with the European, notwithstanding that the people of this country are utter stangers to the carding engine, the spinning jenny, and the fly shuttle. Surely, then, they may be expected to vie with the British manufacturer when they shall have introduced these amazing improvements. Many persons of judgment and who have a knowledge of the country seem persuaded that no situation can be better adapted to manufacturers of cotton, or iron, or tobacco than several parts of James River. It runs through a fine, extensive country which is capable of furnishing all the natural productions of the earth. It is navigable for vessels of any burthen within twenty miles of Richmond, which is .... miles from the sea. A canal commences at Richmond and is in great forwardness, by which boats capable of carrying twelve or thirteen hogsheads of tobacco, each weighing from twelve to fifteen hundredweight, will be conveyed from that part of the river which is above the falls to that part which is below the falls. These may descend to this place from Lynchburg ("Lynch Ferry" in Jefferson's map) in the County of Bedford, at the distance of 146 miles from Richmond. Boats have come, even in a dry season, with four tons of iron each, from the Catawba Creek,

through the north mountain and the Blue Ridge. Smaller burthens have been frequently brought down Jackson's River into James River.

I have conversed with gentlemen, Colonel Harvey and Mr. Ross, who have been up the river from Richmond to Jackson's River. They represent the country as most delightful and the low grounds as rich and luxuriant till you pass the north mountain. With respect to an union of the eastern and western waters by a canal across the main ridge of the Allegheny Mountains, Mr. Ross, whose intimate knowledge of the country and sound judgment demand great attention to his opinion, considers such a step as impracticable. He is convinced that there must always be a portage. Others, on the contrary, who have spent their lives in similar inquiries, have little doubt of obtaining water sufficient on the top of the ridge to supply such a canal, or of constructing locks for conveying boats into it from the opposite waters, as the ascent is not so great as it is over some of the ridges through which nature has carried the rivers. Iron is brought down from Lynchburg to Richmond at the rate of from twenty-seven to thirty shillings a ton. Wheat is brought down to Richmond from Columbia, a little town at the juncture of the Rivanna and Fluvanna or James River at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ the bushel. A bushel of good wheat weighs about sixty pounds. The distance by land is fifty miles. They perform the journey by water frequently in the space of a day and a half. Goods are carried up the river cheaper than they are brought down; because they have less to carry there is usually a greater competition for freight among the owners of the boats.

I have hitherto been speaking only of the northern branch of James River, which is sometimes called the Fluvanna. The Rivanna takes its rise in the valley between the southwest mountains and the Blue Ridge and runs into the James River .... miles, according to the course of the river, above Richmond. It is navigable to the foot of the southwest mountains within three miles of Monticello.

# III

## *Richmond in Virginia, on the Falls of the James River*

(From the information of Colonel Gamble, merchant and storekeeper at Richmond.)

THE varieties to be depended upon in the markets at Richmond, is all kinds of meat, vegetables, and fish.

Good water is found through all the country above the falls of the rivers.

*Prices of provisions in sterling money*

Indian Corn, 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 10½*d.* per Winchester bush.
Wheat, 3*s.* 4½ *d.* to 3*s.* 9*d.*
Barley, 2*s.* 7½*d.* to 3*s.*
Oats, 11¼*d.* to 16½*d.*
Rice, 12*s.* to 13*s.* 6*d.* per 100 lbs. by the tierce.
Potatoes, 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 11½*d.* and 2*s.* 3*d.* per bush.
Flour (from wheat) per bbl. of 196 lbs., 19*s.* 6*d.* to 22*s.* 6*d.*
Hops, 1*s.* 1½*d.* per lb.
Coffee, 9*d.* to 11*d.* by the 200 lbs. wt. or retail 9*d.* to 1*s.* 1½*d.* per lb.
Tea (Bohea) retail 2*s.* 3*d.*—(Souchong) 4*s.* 6*d.*—(Hyson) 7*s.* 6*d.* per lb.
By the chest 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 10½*d.* (Hyson) 4*s.* 6*d.* and 5*s.* 3*d.*
Chocolate, 7½*d.* to 9*d.* by the box of 50 lbs.
Butter, by the cask of 60 lbs., 5½*d.* to 6¾*d.* per lb.
Cheese, 4½*d.* to 6*d.*
Sugar, brown, by the hhd., 37*s.* 10*d.* to 60*s.* per cwt. (formerly 30*s.* to 37*s.* 10*d.*) Retail 6*d.* to 7½*d.* and 8¼*d.* a lb.
Loaf sugar, 11½*d.* to 15*d.*
Treacle, 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 3*d.* the gal. by the hhd.
Rum, American, by the hhd., 2*s.* 7½*d.* to 3s. per gal.
Rum, West Indian, by the hhd., 3*s.* 9*d.* to 4*s.* 4*d.* and 4*s.* 9*d.*
Brandy, French, 4*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* 7½*d.* a gal.
Brandy, Virginia peach, 3*s.* per gal.
Brandy, Virginia apple, 2*s.* 7½*d.* to 3*s.* per gal.

Gin, 3*s*. 4*d*. per gal. Cases of do. 4½ gals. brought from Holland 20*s*. to 22*s*.

Wine, Teneriffe, 3*s*. a gal. by the pipe.
Lisbon, £9 a pipe.
Lisbon, £6 15*s*. to £7 10*s*.
Malaga, £5 5*s*. to £6 15*s*. per case of 30 gals.
Madeira, £45 to £52 10*s*. per pipe.

Beer, not used.

Porter, London, 9*s*. 9*d*. to 10*s*. 6*d*. per doz. bottles.

Cider, by the cask or hhd., 3*d*. to 5½*d*. per gal.

Beef, grass fed but good, 1½*d*. to 2¼*d*.
Stall or winter fed, 2¼*d*. to 3*d*.
By the bullock, grass fed, 11*s*. 3*d*. to 13*s*. 6*d*. per cwt.

Mutton, 1¾*d*. to 3*d*.

Veal, best, 4½*d*. to 5¾*d*.

Lamb, best, 4½*d*. to 5¾*d*.

Pork of excellent quality, by the hog, 11*s*. 3*d*. to 17*s*. per cwt.

Bacon and hams, 3½*d*. to 5¼*d*.

Turkeys, 1*s*. 6*d*. to 3*s*. 4½*d*. each.

Soap, per box, 3¾*d*. to 4½*d*. per lb.

Candles, per box, 6½*d*. to 9½*d*. per lb.

Firewood, 7*s*. 9*d*. to 9*s*. a cord, which is a load being 4 ft. high, 4 ft. wide, and 8 ft. long.

Coals, 7¾*d*. per bush.

Hats, wool, country made, 1*s*. 10½*d*. to 4*s*. 6*d*.

Hats, fur (raccoon and fox) 15*s*. to 27*s*.

Shoes, 3*s*. 9*d*. to 7*s*. 6*d*. a pair.

Boots, 15*s*. to 36*s*. a pair.

Wages of household men servants, £6 to £9 a year.

Wages of white men laborers, £13 10*s*. to £18.

Female servants, £4 10*s*. to £6, chiefly Negroes. Negroes can be had either by purchase or by hire of their masters. There are a few free.

*Answers to queries relative to employment*
*(from the information of Dr. Currie, Colonel Harvey, etc.)*

Employment may be had in agriculture, in brickmaking, in building, in carpenter's work, in shoemaking, and in the country in weaving for private families. Employment for literary men would be chiefly as instructors of youth. Richmond alone would not afford employ for a musical professor. The wives of planters attend to the

dairy and to household manufactures, but you rarely see a woman a shopkeeper. No premium is given with apprentices. The term of servitude various.

*Natural Circumstances*

The common fly is troublesome. There are a few mosquitoes.

Apples, peaches, grapes, etc., are in plenty, but a proper attention is not paid to their cultivation.

*Medical*

Bilious and intermitting complaints are the most prevailing diseases. Children are sometimes afflicted with a dysentery. Colds are not so common as in England.

Medical men are sufficiently plentiful. Their character is similar to those of England. They are educated in the universities of Scotland or in that of Philadelphia. The same man is apothecary, physician, and surgeon. The fee is usually 5*s*. (i.e., 3*s*. 9*d*. sterling) for every visit in town, and 1*s*. (i.e. 9*d*.) a mile for country visits, besides the charge for medicines.

*Social*

Those European prejudices are not known which insulate the man of rank and property and make him solitary in the midst of society. The man who made such pretensions to superiority would be despised.

*Moral and intellectual*

The usual terms at grammar schools is about £3 15*s*. a year. The objects of instruction the same as in England.

There are four newspapers in Richmond, two of which come out twice a week and the other two only once.

*Political*

There is a general attachment to the federal union. The Virginians objected to some parts of the Constitution, not to a federation. There is a general and perhaps increasing jealousy in the southern states of the *monied interest* of the northern, and of that funding system introduced under the new Constitution, which has been so well suited to the schemes of speculative men.

The Society of Cincinnati exists in Virginia merely as a friendly one. Their meetings are not numerously attended. The business done at them is only to grant orders upon the Treasurer for exhibitions to the widows. They have never deviated from their charitable institution.

Popular assemblies are convened only in the state to elect the members of the legislature. Business is conducted in them with regularity and propriety. There are no symptoms of aristocratic influence. There is a prevailing jealousy of property. The candidates sometimes canvass, but the established reputation of those who have not canvassed has often been sufficient to counterbalance the activity of the canvassing candidate. The elections are not attended with disorders, or at most very rarely. No expenses attend them, except to those who give a barbecue, or an entertainment in the woods, and then they seldom amount to a hundred pounds or a hundred and fifty pounds Virginia currency. Both houses are elected in the same manner, only a senator is for three years, the other house for only one year.

Corruption in the legislature is unknown. It would be detected by comparing a man's conduct with his principles, and if he should allege that his principles are changed likewise, his constituents will in a few months be able to treat him as his perfidy or his weakness may merit. An absolute negative is given to the senate. The convention for Virginia, during the war, consisted but of one house. Their ardor and precipitation sometimes carried them into measures of which many afterwards saw reason to repent. This has not been the case under the present Constitution. The Governor has no negative upon the acts of the Assembly. The Assembly is not divided into parties like the British House of Commons.

It is lawful for a man to plead his own cause, but not common. Attorneys plead at the bar. Actions for the recovery of debts, redressing injuries, prosecution of criminals are proceeded upon by the same forms as in England. The expense attending them is much less than in England. The English statute law has been digested and adapted to the circumstances of this state. The common law is left to be searched for in precedent. The law of primogeniture is abolished. Daughters are placed upon a level with sons. In Virginia, if a man dies intestate, all his children share alike.

All free males from eighteen to forty-five are liable to serve in the militia, except in cases of disability or on account of some particular profession of public utility. Substitutes are admitted.

*Facts which indicate happiness or the lack of it*

There are immigrations *to* this place from Europe, but principally of merchants and storekeepers to this part of the state. There are emigrations *from* it, and principally to Kentucky, and of respectable persons of every line of life.

Every county has certain respectable persons appointed, who are called overseers of the poor, who in their different wards ascertain who are objects of charity and at a yearly meeting assess all the free males and slaves, for what will be sufficient, and put the poor into decent, comfortable families, who receive a stipend for their care. A few beggars occasionally appear about towns. After traveling two months about this country I have met with one only. Public houses are supported by travelers.

There are no instances of oppression from the great. There are no instances of tumult among the multitude.

There are no families in Virginia who continue merely hired laborers from one generation to another. Colonel Harvey's father, who was a Scotsman, used to send every year for persons from north Britain who were indebted to him for five years, but all of them in the end attained plantations of their own and lived upon them.

*Agriculture (by Colonel Gamble)*

The wheat is very seldom affected by the mildew. This harvest (1793) more general than ever known, but the luxuriance of the crop counterbalanced the effect; and great crops of Indian corn and grass. (N.B. I think there must be some mistake here, as the extraordinary drought of this summer has rendered the crops of Indian corn uncommonly indifferent. H.T.)

In winter it is in few instances so cold but a laboring man may be employed in outdoor work.

The seed time for wheat, rye, barley, etc., is from the 20th August to the first of November. The time of harvest is from June and July between the Atlantic and the mountains; and beyond the mountains July till the middle of August.

Wheat stubbles will not yield a second crop, such as millet, maize, turnips, buckwheat, etc., but if the ground be good, frequently a volunteer crop (from seed which was shed) appears the next season of one-quarter value.

It is necessary to make provision for cattle over the mountains from November till April throughout, inclusive, but meadow and

pasture lands frequently keep cattle till Christmas. Six weeks may be deducted below the mountains and in some places little or no provision is necessary.

The price of land depends on soil and vicinity to market. In the settled parts of the country £4 10*s.* to £7 10*s.* per acre. But lands by the whole tract, ten miles from seaports, in few instances exceed 20*s.* to 45*s.* an acre—well-improved lands, good buildings, etc., being included.

Price of a cow: 37*s.* 6*d.* to 75*s.*; a horse fit for wagon or plow, £7 10*s.* to £15; a sheep, 4*s.* 6*d.* to 12*s.*; a wagon that will carry 30 cwt. completely fitted with gears for four horses, new, £12 to £18, depending upon workmanship.

There is no land tax under the federal government (but the power is reserved in the legislature). A trifling tax has prevailed in the Virginia state of 5*s.* on the £100 value, estimated by assessors who rate the land low.

The wages of a laborer are 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 10½*d.* a day (with provisions) except in harvest, when it is higher—2*s.* 4½*d.* to 3*s.* 10½*d.* The time of remission from labor is about an hour at breakfast and two hours for dinner. There are many slaves, but no importations are allowed in Virginia from any part of the world: not even from a neighboring state, except when a man moves with his family and offers none for sale. Else all are free that are brought into the state, and slaves are daily emancipating. The whole family of a cultivator (excepting only slaves) are seated at the same table. The time requisite each week for a man to labor can only be calculated by the price of his labor, the extent of his family, and the price of provisions. In country places, grain is much lower than in Richmond market.

No family is so poor but has beef, pork, bacon, Indian corn, meal, and wheat flour, potatoes, etc.

Watering of meadows is practiced over the mountains where meadows are upon an improved state, and where there are numerous rivulets and springs.

The fences are generally split timber of eleven feet and about three to five inches in diameter, from six to ten rails high, fastened together at the ends (without post) merely by laying one upon another, thus [drawing of crossed rails].

There is no regular course of crops in use. Drill husbandry not practiced. The grain is threshed, over the mountains, in barns on a

clean floor by flails and other instruments; but in many places an earthen floor is made in the fields, and the grain is trodden out by horses, which are driven round upon it. Estates are appropriated chiefly to grain and tobacco. The difference in profit from corn and grazing estates [h]as scarcely been tried. Apples, peaches, etc., are the most plentiful fruits. The maple tree is not cultivated.

Horses are chiefly used in husbandry. There are a few oxen. The winter's support of cattle is straw sprinkled with salt, hay, fodder (i.e., the blades of Indian corn) except milch cows and working oxen which receive additional substantial food.

The produce of this neighborhood is taken to Richmond market. It is taken thither in wagons, but the canal at the falls will be the means of water carriage. (See the Journal.) There is no good publication on the productions of the country. There has not one cultivator become bankrupt since the peace. All industrious men thrive very fast.

The lands are chiefly cultivated with the plow, but after plowing amongst the Indian corn, the hoe is used to cut down weeds and to draw the mold to the stalk. The produce is carried home in wagons or on sleds. Hay is built in stacks, and a considerable part of the wheat, rye, etc., in stacks or barracks, which cannot be got into barns. Sickles and scythes with wooden fingers affixed (called a cradle) are commonly used to cut the grain.

The usual mode of plowing and fallowing lands and plowing them again when the grain is sowed is practiced. They fallow in May: the ground is stirred and plowed again, when convenient, and again when seeding; from which management good crops are expected (say twelve to sixteen bushels of wheat). However, they are very indifferent plowmen.

# IV

## *At a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town of Winchester and its Vicinity, to Afford Information Respecting Certain Queries Relative to the Counties of Frederick and Berkeley in Virginia*

(Colonel John Smith in the Chair)

ARTICLES *respecting the comforts and necessaries of life*

(N.B. Prices in Virginia currency to be reduced to sterling by deducting one fourth. Thus, one shilling is equal to ninepence sterling.)

There is a regular market twice a week in the town of Winchester; a regular market in Martinsburg in the County of Berkeley, twice a week; and there is a sufficient quantity of provisions furnished in all the other towns in the counties of Frederick and Berkeley, but no regular market; and at all times provisions are to be purchased at private houses.

There is a constant supply of a variety of butcher's meat in season, poultry, venison, pork proper for salting, and bacon.

Good water is to be found everywhere.

Price of:

Indian corn, 2*s.* per bush.
Wheat, from 3*s.* to 4*s.* do.
Barley easily cultivated but little in demand
Oats, the average price, 1*s.* 8*d.*
Rye, 3*s.*
Rice, not made here, purchased for 3*d.* per lb.
Peas, none for sale, every family having a garden
Beans, the same
Potatoes, 1*s.* 6*d.* the bush.
Flour or meal from Indian corn, the same as corn
" from wheat, 10*s.* per cwt.

Flour from oats, none made
" " barley, none made
" " rye, the same as rye per bush.
Bread, the price same per weight as flour
Malt, 3*s.* per bush., but little made
Hops, 1*s.* 3*d.* per lb. a favorable climate for raising, but few made

This is equal to any country for the production of apples, but peaches a little precarious.

Price of Apples, in the fall, 1*s.* per bush. and at Christmas from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* per bush.
Peaches, from 2*s.* to 4*s.* per bush.
Currants, 3*s.* per bush., but few sold, the climate favorable
Coffee, from 1*s.* 3*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb.
Tea (Bohea), 3*s.*—(Souchong) 5*s.* 6*d.*—(Hyson) 10*s.* to 12*s.*—(Imperial) 15*s.* a lb.
Chocolate, 1*s.* to 1*s.* 3*d.* a lb.
Milk, 4*d.* a qt.
Butter, 6*d.* to 9*d.*, average 8*d.* per lb.
Cheese, country made, 6*d.* per lb.
Brown sugar, 9*d.* a lb. N.B. no distinction between maple and cane sugar of same quality.
Loaf sugar, 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb. Sugars have increased considerably in their price since the French revolution.
Treacle, or molasses, 3*s.* per gal.
Rum (Windward Islands and Jamaica) 5*s.* to 8*s.* a gal.
Brandy (French) 8*s.* Apple. 3*s.* Peach 5*s.* Whiskey 3*s.* per gal.
Holland Gin, 30*s.* per case and twelve bottles
American do. 4*s.* per gal.
Wine (Teneriffe) 5*s.* 6*d.* (Madeira) 12*s.* to 15*s.* (Malaga) 6*s.* 6*d.* (Lisbon) 8*s.* (Sherry) 9*s.* (Claret) 36*s.* per doz. (Port) 10*s.* per gal.
Beer, none made, London porter 16*s.* per doz.; Philadelphia, 12*s.* per doz.
Cider, new 6*s.*, old 10*s.* per bbl. of 30 gals.
Beef, grass fed, 2½*d.*, stall fed, 3½*d.* } per lb. upon average for best quality
Mutton, 3*d.*, Veal 3*d.*, Lamb 3*d.*, Pork 3*d.*, Venison 2*d.* to 3*d.* per lb.
Bacon 6*d.*, Hams, 6*d.* per lb.

Fish, fresh water, none sold
" salted, shad, 30s. per bbl.
" " herrings, 24*s*. per bbl.
" " salmon, 60*s*. per 200 lbs.
Oysters, 3*s*. per bush. if fresh
Ducks, 6*s*. to 9*s*. per doz.
Geese, 1*s*. 6*d*. to 2*s*. each.
Turkeys, 1*s*. 6*d*. to 2*s*. each
Pigeons, none for sale
Wild turkeys, 3*s*. each
Pheasants, 6*d*. each
Partridge, 1*s*. to 1*s*. 3*d*. per doz.
Salt, 4*s*. 6*d*. per bush.
Starch, 6*d*. per lb.
Soap, 8*d*. to 9*d*. per lb. Castile, 1*s*. 3*d*. per lb.
Candles, tallow, 1*s*. per lb.
Wood, hickory, 7*s*. 6*d*. per cord, oak or other wood, 6*s*. per cord
Coal, none
Clothing: every article which in Great Britain will cost 1*s*. sterling can be obtained here for about 2*s*. 3*d*. Virginia currency
Price of shoes, from 5*s*. to 12*s*.
Boots, 24*s*. to 48*s*.
Furniture, etc. Casks, oak, containing 30 gals., 5*s*.; tierce, 7*s*. 6*d*.; barrel, 9*s*.
Paper hangings, American, from 3*s*. to 12*s*. per piece of 12 yds.
Carpets and bedticks, imported articles

Kind of Buildings: The principal materials of wood and stone: cement—lime and sand and earth; flooring—wood; covering—the same; windows—glass. Generally finished within with plaister and whitewash.

Price of Materials:

Logs trimmed on two sides and delivered at the place of building, 1½*d*. per ft.
Scantlings, 1*d*. per ft., measured side and edge at sawmill
Flooring planks, 1¼ inch, 7*s*. 6*d*. per 100 ft.
1 inch, 6*s*. do.
½ inch, 4*s*. do.
Laths on which the covering is nailed, 2*s*. 6*d*. per 100 ft. running measure

Wooden shingles (cypress) from three to four dollars per 1000, delivered at the place of building, each shingle measuring 4x6 in.
Oak shingles, 28*s.* per 1000, covering 10x4 in.
Chestnut do. 16*s.* per 1000, covering 6x4 in.
Limestone, by the perch, delivered, from 2*s.* 8*d.* to 3*s.*
Brick (delivered), 24*s.* per 1000
Lime, 6*d.* per bush.
Sand, or soil for the purpose of building, the price of carriage
Window glass (American) 8x10 inches, 72*s.* per box containing 100 ft.

Wages of:
Mason, 1*s.* 8*d.* to 2*s.* per perch, when the work is complete, when found
Plaisterers, 4*d.* for each square yard, when found
Glaziers, 1*d.* a light, when found

The price of building land in towns is various, as it will depend upon the particular situation of the lot. House rent will depend upon the situation of the house. Lodging and board in town will be from £15 to £30 per annum; ditto in country will be from £12 to £18 per annum.

Wages of household servants, males, £12 per annum; females, £6 per annum. There is a difficulty in procuring male servants, unless they are slaves—but there is no difficulty in procuring slaves; nor in engaging *female* servants who are free, both natives and immigrants.

*Agriculture*

Under the north mountain, there is through the extent of the two counties a stiff, clay soil, abounding with moveable stones, both of the flint and limestone species. It is rather broken but well watered and naturally disposed to grass. It is likewise well adapted to wheat, but not so well for Indian corn or oats. From thence to the waters of the Opequon Creek is a body of rich limestone land, a light-colored gray soil, not subject to be exhausted.

On the waters of Opequon Creek, the limestone gives place to slate which is accompanied with a light clay, with which the slate is very intimately intermixed. It is not so rich a soil, but the better parts of it are well adapted to wheat, grass, and red clover, and the grass is not so liable to be parched as upon the limestone land.

Proceeding eastward, this soil is succeeded by the richest lime-

stone land, of a dark gray, which extends to the Shenandoah. The bottom lands of the Shenandoah are remarkably fine. They are exceeded by none on the *eastern* waters.

The face of the country generally variegated with gentle hills and dales.

A great variety of streams runs into the Shenandoah, the Opequon Creek, and the Potomac, affording an abundance of admirable mill seats. There are no stagnant pools in this district. The land in some instances is liable to be overflowed, but very rarely, on the Shenandoah, in the spring or fall; but the floods are not considered as injurious.

The bed of the soil is a rich clay. The limestone runs perpendicularly and parallel with the mountain. In some places it is some inches, or even feet, above the surface of the earth.

Its natural growth: under the north mountain, 1st, white oak, hickory, and pine here and there, 2d, *to* the waters of the Opequon, hickory, oak, walnut, locust (i.e., the acacia of Europe), 3rd, *on* the Opequon, white oak and pine principally, 4th, to the Shenandoah, black and red oak, which is a mark of superior soil, white oak, hickory, walnut, and locust. The underwood is oak and hickory saplings.

The *mole* is troublesome. The *squirrels* eat the Indian corn; they have but few foxes, wolves, or raccoons.

A little yellow fly injures the vines; a small fly sometimes hurts the cabbages; the Hessian fly is as yet unknown. Wheat is only partially affected [by] the mildew, on low grounds, but it is subject to rust and blight, yet is a very safe crop.

The summers are more temperate than on the eastern side of the mountain: the heat of the day is seldom distressing; the mornings and evenings are cool. Foreigners, however, complain that the direct influence of the sun is too great. The snow, in the winter, often admits of traveling upon sledges. When there is not much frost, there is but little rain. The air is dry and healthful. Labor may be carried on out of doors at all times. In the snow they fell timber. Foggy, damp days are unknown. The weather is rather changeable in the spring. A want of rain very seldom distresses the cattle for want of pasture, even though they should never go into the woods.

Timothy grass and red clover are cultivated.

The greatest quantity of rain falls in the spring. The grain is very seldom hurt by either rain or hail. Harvest is seldom interrupted by bad weather; it is generally remarkably good. Spring frosts never

injure anything except peaches and other very forward fruits.

Seed time, for wheat, from August 1st to October; somewhat later for rye; the oats and spring barley in March and April; the fall barley, September 1st; Indian corn, April and May. Harvest: clover, last of May and September 1st; natural grasses, of which there are but little, in May; wheat in June; timothy grass in July; fall barley in June; spring barley after wheat; oats in July after wheat; the best cider apples in October and November. Wheat stubbles will yield a second crop, such as millet, etc.

Winter provender for cattle to be provided from the middle of November to May 1st. But if any regard be paid to the pasturage, five months is sufficient. The most agreeable months in the year are September, October, November, and May.

Probably one-third of the two counties are under cultivation.

Land is worth from 15*s.* to £3 15*s.* sterling, but it is rising. In improved farms they aim at preserving one-third uncleared; this [is] often one-half. As to *rent*, a good piece of land of 200 acres, 120 cleared, with house, orchard, barn, spring, and meadow, may rent at £45 per annum. It is very common to set [i.e. lease] your lands for one-third of the produce. The tenants reap the land, but the landlord takes his own part off the field. Rents of this kind are preferred by the tenant, and are more profitable to the landlord.

Price of working oxen, $40 (£9) per pair; a good cow and calf, £3; plow horses, £7 10*s.* to £13 10*s.*; wagon horses, £13 10*s.* to £27. Sheep, 6*s.* to 9*s.* each; a lamb, a dollar; a sow of 1 cwt. or upwards (if rather fat), with six pigs, three to four dollars. A plow, weighing in all about three score, eight dollars; a wagon for four horses for the road, 2½ inch wheels, £13 15*s.* to £15; gears for four horses, from £3 15*s.* to £6. Hay, 30*s.* in town, 22*s.* 6*d.* in the country. Wages of men, £15; women, £3 15*s.* to £4 10*s.*, but they are not easily procured where slaves are numerous.

The prevailing size of estates are from fifty to two thousand acres. No extensive grazing plan has yet been adopted. The difference in the profit of grazing and corn estates has not yet been tried. The maple tree is not cultivated. The produce is taken to Alexandria. Wagons take it at 5*s.* 9*d.* per bbl. of flour, weighing 196 lbs. and the barrel 17 lbs., distance 80 miles. Flour sells at 21*s.* the bbl.

A few people have emigrated to the western country; they were in general respectable people. No country was ever settled by such respectable people as the western country.

# V

## *Hagerstown, in the Maryland Part of the Valley, at the Headwaters of the Antietam*

(70 miles from Baltimore, 80 from Alexandria, 54 from Carlisle, 160 from Pittsburgh.)

THE prices are in Maryland currency, 3/5th of which is sterling; thus 20*d.* is 1*s.*, 10*d.* is 6*d.*, 5*d.* is 3*d.*, etc.

There is a market twice a week.

Price of:

Indian corn, 2*s.* to 3*s.* per bush.
Wheat, 5*s.*
Potatoes, 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*
Flour, 14*s.* for 112 lbs.
Malt, 4*s.* 6*d.* per bush.
Hops, 2*s.* per lb.
Apples, 2*s.* per bush.
Butter, 10 *d.* per lb.
Cheese, 7*d.* to 8*d.* per lb.
Brown sugar, 1*s.*; Maple, 9*d.*
Single refined, 2*s.* 2*d.* but not more than 1*s.* 6*d.* when the West Indias are in a state of tranquility
Wine, port, a dollar and a half, Madeira, three dollars
Beer: there are breweries in the town and neighborhood, but it is not much used
Cider, 4*d.* per gal. by the bbl.
Beef, 3*d.* per lb. the average
Mutton, 3*d.*
Veal, 2½*d.* per lb.
Bacon, 6*d.* per lb.
Hams, 8*d.* per lb.
Fish, none but salted
Fowls, 4*d.* to 6*d.* each
Ducks, 9*d.* to 10*d.*

Soap, 8*d.* per lb.
Candles, 1*s.*
Wood, one dollar a cord (4 ft. by 4 and by 8)
Coal, 2*s.* per bush., but none used in dwelling houses
Clothing in general sells £100 sterling for £210 to £224 Maryland currency
Shoes, 8*s.* 4*d.* to 11*s.* 3*d.*

Houses are mostly of wood; but new houses are generally built of brick.

Price of:

Scantlings, 1½*d.* per ft. running measure
Logs, trimmed on two sides, 1½*d.* per ft.

Oxen, a good large pair, £20 (i.e. £12)
Cows, soon after calving, in the spring, £5.
Horses for the plow, £10 to £30
Sheep, of 16 or 18 lbs. to the quarter and fat, about 20*s.*
Do., for flocks one with another a dollar and a half (i.e. 6*s.* 9*d.*)
Cart for two horses, £9
Wagon £25 (i.e. £15)
Horse shoeing 5*s.* (i.e. 3*s.*)
Hay from £2 10*s.* to £3 per ton delivered in town, either timothy or clover

The necessary buildings are a barn, a small cornhouse, or crib (for they grow but little Indian corn), stables, and cowhouse, which two last are generally under the barn and built of stone.

There is a county tax for roads, justices, poor, etc., amounting to about half a dollar (2*s.* 3*d.*) in £100 (£63).

Husbandmen are scarce: their wages are 2*s.* 6*d.* a day, and meat, or five to six dollars a month. Blacksmiths (whose wages are lower than most other journeymen) have 40*s.* a month and board. Carpenters have 4*s.* 6*d.* (i.e. 2*s.* 8½*d.*) finding themselves.

The most prevailing size of estates is 250 acres. Wheat upon a fallow yields about 20 bushels per acre. (N.B. I never lay any stress upon these estimates, so much depends upon cultivation, and so liable men are to give in inaccurate statements.) It is plowed twice, then harrowed, then sowed, then plowed in. The stable manure is usually carried to the meadows. It is very rarely that any other manure is used. They often water meadows.

Course of crops: first, Indian corn; second, wheat, sown before the corn is got off the ground; third, wheat again; fourth, rye; fifth, fallow; sixth, wheat again. The drill husbandry is not practiced. Some thresh with the flail; some tread out the grain with horses. The estates are usually appropriated to grain. The maple tree is not cultivated near Hagerstown, though it does grow and is used in some part of the country. Few oxen are used.

The produce is principally taken to Baltimore, where the wheat sells for about a shilling a bushel more than at Alexandria; but the opening of the Potomac will draw capital to Alexandria and Georgetown, and consequently increase the price. Eight shillings ninepence has been the usual price per barrel (196 lbs.) for taking flour to Baltimore.

(N.B. I think the neighborhood of Hagerstown equal to any part of the Valley.)

Houses: The mason finds everything, except hauling the stone, and has 7*d.* a perch for the wall when completed, being 18 inches thick. Brick are three dollars (13*s.* 6*d.*) per thousand; window glass ten dollars (45*s.*) for 100 ft.

Female servants, 3*s.* 6*d.* per week; male servants, four dollars per month. There is much difficulty in procuring male servants.

Number of inhabitants in Hagerstown, 2000 (or more now) of which probably 100 or more are slaves. The greatest part of the inhabitants are Germans.

There are about six manufacturing saddlers' shops; two leather breeches makers; two coppersmiths; ten blacksmiths; four gunsmiths (rifle); two earthenware, two tin workers; six hatters; five tanyards; three blue dyers for cotton and yarn; one fulling mill; three nail manufacturers (of whom I will send an account).

The roads are good in summer except when the limestone makes them rough. The post passes directly to and from Philadelphia and Baltimore once a week. The places of worship are one German Lutheran, one German Presbyterian, one English Episcopalian, one Roman Catholic. The schools are one German and two English schools, one girls' boarding school. No classical school; no library; no book society.

There is one weekly newspaper, of which only between 200 and 300 are printed, there being so many Germans in town, and so many papers in the neighborhood. Fifty German papers come from Lancaster every week and fifty more Baltimore papers in English.

*Agricultural*

The soil is a dark loam, about six inches deep, when you come to a light-colored clay, which being plowed up and mixed with the soil enriches it when exhausted by cultivation. Under the clay is limestone.

The natural growth is black oak, white oak, hickory, walnut, and wild locust.

There are now and then some dry summers when it is necessary to give the cows some bran mixed with chopped straw, but it does not happen more than once in four or five years.

The harvest is seldom interrupted by rain. Spring frosts are not often detrimental. The rye has been injured once or twice in the course of ten or twelve years.

The cattle require fodder from about the middle or latter end of November till about the middle or latter end of April, during which time they house their milch cows. Some use the fodder or leaves of Indian corn; some hay, or clover.

The price of estates (about half being cleared) is from sixteen to twenty-four dollars per acre, according to the improvements, within the distance of eight to ten miles from town.

# VI

## *Copy of a Letter from the Reverend H. Toulmin to Mr. James Leigh, Winchester, Virginia, November 20, 1793*

(To which place please to direct to me, either by the packet or by any vessel for Baltimore or Alexandria, which is a cheaper method of sending letters, as the postage from New York to Winchester is 1*s.* 6*d.* But, as yet, I have not heard at all from England except by one letter from my father, dated June 2d.

Parcels, etc., may be sent at any time directed to the care of Nicholas Stubley, Esq., Baltimore, or Mr. Jesse Taylor, Jr., Alexandria. Carriage from Alexandria hither is but half what it is from Baltimore. From Alexandria, it is usually 1*s.* 10½*d.* per cwt.)

*My Dear Friends*

For I address this letter to all such in the neighborhood to which I am writing, though I suppose you began to think from the long preface above that I should address myself to nobody. Though you have not heard from me directly before, yet I conceive you have seen the letters which I have written; and I thought it would be better to leave it to some ready pen among you to copy such parts as may be generally interesting than to spend my own time in doing it. I have sent three packages, the last of which went yesterday and contains a minute account of the Valley of the Shenandoah, together with my journal till our arrival at Winchester; but it is probable it may not reach Lancashire till after you receive this.

The weather which we had upon our journey from Fredericksburg (a seaport town on the Rappahannock in Virginia) to Winchester (ninety miles), when my family came, was very unfavorable to us for the first two days; but, as far as the rain extended, highly salutary to the husbandman, whose fields had been long

thirsting for the refreshing shower. Indeed, the rain rendered the air much more agreeable to us; and though we were wetted in consequence of the badness of our covering, yet we were not sensible of any ill effects resulting from it. It is true there was some danger of our progress being impeded by the height of some brooks which crossed the road; for the most trifling currents are often rendered deep and dangerous by twenty-four hours' steady rain.

The country between this and Fredericksburg is not a perfect flat, as it generally is below the falls of the rivers. The hills, however, are neither frequent nor lofty, till you approach the Blue Ridge, and even this is formidable to the traveler much more in appearance than in reality. The most prevailing timber on the road eastward of the ridge is oak and it is frequently of an inferior growth. The soil is in some parts gravelly, in some sandy, and near the mountains it is a strong red clay; but there it is rendered less valuable by the uneveness of the land and the multitude of loose stones which are scattered over it. After crossing the ridge, you enter upon the rich limestone loam, which prevails in a great part of the valley – for it is not a chalky land, according to the representation of Brissot.

There are no appearances of coal on any part of the road we took, but the strata of stone, some miles eastward of the ridge, struck me as being similar to those which are observable in the same direction more southward in the vicinity of the southwest mountains. The cultivated land bears but a small proportion to that which is uncultivated, but it is greater on this side of the ridge, than it is in the longer-settled country to the eastward. Nor is the beauty of the country much improved by the cultivation which is bestowed upon it. The fields are so large, the tillage of them is so negligent, and the zigzag rail fences so remote from everything of rural elegance, that the country has by no means an inviting aspect. This is at least the case at the season in which we have viewed it. The crops which remained upon the land were Indian corn and tobacco. The former, though a beautiful plant when green, and as I viewed it upon landing, has nothing beautiful in it when ripe; and the tobacco plant, though it was once, according to an ancient law, treason to destroy it, has in my eyes, on account of its qualities, rather a disgusting than a pleasing appearance.

As there are but few grass lands, there are of course but few cattle, and cattle are absolutely necessary to render any country completely beautiful. Cows were, I think, the only cattle which we saw;

but the soil and the climate are well adapted to all cattle, especially on this side of the ridge. The farmers were beginning to plow between their rows of Indian corn, in order to sow their wheat among it; but after such a slovenly preparation, it is almost wonderful that the crop should replace the seed. A man runs with a shovel plow (which is in fact a shovel fixed in a plow-frame) drawn by a poor horse through the rows of Indian corn, by which means they tumble the stones over and just scrape the surface of the soil.

The town of Winchester, which is in the heart of Shenandoah Valley (as Brissot calls the counties of Frederick, Berkeley, and Shenandoah) is one of the most important towns in Virginia. It contains 1,660 inhabitants. But they are a motley set of Germans, Irish, Scots, and Anglo-Americans (or Americans descended from Englishmen). Various mechanical arts are carried on here. There are saddlers, hatters, shoemakers, weavers, braziers, smiths, clockmakers, riflesmiths, cabinetmakers, a painted-chairmaker, an earthenware-maker, a coachmaker, a wagon-maker, buckskin breeches makers, etc. The stores, or shops, are numerous and considerable. They obtain their goods from Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Alexandria, but principally from Philadelphia, and dispose of them to people of the town, of the neighborhood, and of the back country. Multitudes of horses, sometimes bringing hemp, come down every spring and return loaded with the products of Europe and the West Indias, but principally with salt and iron.

As for the inhabitants, they by no means merit [the account which] was given of them by Brissot, who was not here and who was misled in his information respecting both them and the country. They are not idle and luxurious like those on the east side of the ridge; but have upon the whole the industry, without the Presbyterian austerity, of the Pennsylvanians. There are, however, Presbyterians here, but a totally different kind of men from those so called in England. There is much good sense, much sound political principle, but no religious information. The great evil here is the existence of slavery; though I am of the opinion that a large proportion of the slaves on this side of the ridge are better off than the poor of England. But why should one man's happiness—his foods, his rest, his place of abode, his labor, his social connections, his social comforts—depend entirely upon the will or the disposition or the caprice of another?

You would be astonished at the multiplicity of cattle which pour through this town from the back country to the north, and of wagons and horses with emigrants from the north and the east to Kentucky. Several thousands have gone down the river this year, and I, after waiting some weeks for the rising of the waters, propose following them tomorrow, and I could not forbear writing to you before my departure. But I know you will be waiting for my advice respecting those who thought of joining me soon. This must in some measure depend upon *your* present views and plans:—though any young man who comes with a fly shuttle and reed in his pocket, or with his hand ready for the plow, needs not be afraid of losing his time when he gets here. As to the prosecution of our plan, that must rest with you. It depends upon your coinciding in views and pursuits. There is such an amazing difference in the price of land in different situations—with advantages almost equal—that it must be folly for a man with nothing, or with a few hundred pounds and a family to provide for, to settle in situations which for the sake of a few conveniences may be very eligible to a man of some thouands.

Near Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, the land often sells at £18 an acre (I always mean statute acres and sterling money), and the most indifferent, with scarcely any improvements, at £6 and £8. The market for produce, sixty miles off.

Near Harrisburg, on the Susquehanna (one hundred miles from Philadelphia) £12 an acre, and £3—£4—£4 4*s*.—to £7, farther than a mile from the town. They have a prospect of water carriage, but are subject to intermitting fevers.

Proceeding northwestward, near Carlisle, £3, £4, and four guineas; market 120 miles off. Twelve miles south, £2 to £6. Near Shippensburg, seven miles farther, £2 to £3 12*s*.

Ten miles north of Hagerstown, on the edge of Pennsylvania, £3 12*s*.; market (Baltimore) about seventy miles. By and by they will be able to go down the Conecocheague (probably) into the Potomac and so to Alexandria.

Hagerstown in Maryland, £3 12*s*. to £5 8*s*.—seventy miles from the market (Baltimore).

Sheppardstown, on the southern bank of the Potomac, £2 5*s*. to £4 10 *s*.—sixty miles from market (Alexandria) and will certainly have a water carriage. Except for about a quarter of a mile, the navigation of the Potomac will be complete next spring.

The counties of Frederick and Berkeley in general (i.e., Shenandoah Valley, 15*s.* to £3 15*s.*—and even here persons who have but four or five hundred acres and a large family think it time to begin to make provision for them, by going to Washington County, Nelson, or Kentucky in order to exchange their five hundred for five thousand.

The highest price, however, is low compared with England, and no rational man can doubt that America is the country for poor men —for men of small property—for all industrious men—and for the Friends of Liberty.

Those who come hither should bring clothing and bed linen to serve them for five years, and all manufactured goods for their own use which will lie in a small compass.

We are full of expectation of news from the army against the Indians. There is an account that several horses have been killed or taken in encountering some baggage wagons. The fever at Philadelphia has subsided. We have great reason to speak of the friendliness of our acquaintance here.

Always yours most sincerely,

H. TOULMIN.

P. S. Though this is so far south, the winters are severe. Three weeks ago I saw ice in the bottom of a tub, half an inch thick, and the snow has been a foot deep this week, twelve miles from hence. It often lies two or three months on the ground. But the winters are much severer to the northward.

The air is clear and agreeable, land but indifferent near the federal city and Alexandria. It is £3 and £4 near Alexandria, and £3 to £6 near the former. Building lots there, forty feet in front, and more behind, £60 upon an average.

I have seen one of Digg's estates, advertised in the *Herald*, of 1100 acres, but it is nothing extraordinary. Some part is stony; the rest much exausted; no more wood than barely necessary; buildings bad; one tenant gives 212 bushels of wheat for one-third of the land and two slaves. It used to be £6 a year for 100 acres.

People are busy in salting beef and pork for winter and spring. Mr. Throgmorton, with whom we are, usually kills for his own use sixteen or eighteen hogs of five or six score each. He has four children, and five or six Negroes.

Mrs. Toulmin's addition to the letter.

I could wish to say a great deal, but my good husband has not left me any room. I see he has not told you that we have lost our dear little Hannah Lindsay Toulmin. She has been dead these eight weeks. She was ill only three days. Her disorder was the croup. Her father was from home at the time. Be so good as to give my kind regard to all our friends. I am going to write to Chowbent in a day or two.

ANN TOULMIN

# VII

## *Information Respecting the County of Mason, and Washington, the County Town (Stated from Communications made by Captain Thomas Marshall, Clerk of the County Court)*

MASON County is the most northerly in the state of Kentucky. It is the county which you enter upon landing at Limestone Creek.

There is no regular market. There are butchers in the towns through the county, who generally kill twice a week, and blow a horn at the time to inform the inhabitants; but it is most common to lay in a year's provision in the fall, in the country, though many people in the towns adopt the more expensive modes of laying in but a part of their provisions, and depending upon the butchers for the rest. Habit renders salt provisions more acceptable and indispensable to many than fresh meat.

No towns are incorporated in any part of the state.

The country affords every variety.

Springs upon the surface are very common. In all places they are to be found by digging wells; and it is seldom necessary to go deeper than twelve feet, and the strata of rock which must be perforated are from one to four inches thick. Upon newly cleared lands, the springs often fail in the summer, but after a year or two they become permanent. It has sometimes happened in digging for wells, or springs, that underground, natural caves full of water have been discovered. There was a singular instance of this kind in the county of Scott. The earth gave way in a field where a calf was pasturing; the animal sank and fell into a pond of water. The owner saw it, followed it in a canoe, and discovered and passed a water stream half a mile in length. The water is very good, and is all more or less impregnated with limestone, though not so strongly (Mr. M. thinks) as the water in Frederick and Berkeley in Virginia. Mr. M.

knows of no part of Kentucky where good springs have not been found when it was well explored, though most springs in the woods dry up in the summer.

(Superficial observers have represented the country as badly furnished with springs. Mr. Marshall is an accurate observer, and his account may be depended upon.)

Provisions are dearer in this than in any of the other counties, because it was first settled by a lazy set of people; because they have a good vent for their superfluous produce; because there is a greater number of immigrants to this than to other parts of the state in proportion to the population; because it was not safe till within four years for the people to cultivate their land except very near to their houses; and because the tenants are very numerous, compared with the land owners.

Indian corn sells for from 1*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* per bush., Virginia currency; wheat, 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* 6*d.*; barley, 3*s.* to 3*s.* 6*d.*; oats (for which there is no demand but for the army), 1*s.* 6*d.*; rye, 2*s.* to 3*s.*; rice (at the stores) from 8*d.* to 1*s.* per lb. Peas and beans are not raised for sale, nor in any great quantities. Kidney beans of various kinds are common, and are planted among the Indian corn. Wheat flour (superfine), 15*s.* per 100 lbs.; do. (seconds), 12*s.* Meal from oats, barley, or rye is not made. Bread not sold. No malt is made for sale. Hops, 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb. No apples are yet raised in the county for sale. Apples from the Monongahela County, 6*s.* a bush. Two thousand dollars are probably annually returned to that county for apples and cider brought to this county.

Every one who is settled upon land leased for a long time is paying attention to the raising of orchards. Mr. M. has 3,500 apple trees, and 600 peach trees, the seeds of which were planted in April. Some of the apple trees are four or five feet high. He means to engraft them the next season.

Coffee from the West Indias, 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb.; tea (Hyson), 20*s.* and 22*s.*, Bohea, 4*s.* to 6*s.*; chocolate, 2*s.* 6*d.*; butter, 6*d.* through the year, for it seldom varies. Opposite to Licking, on the other side the Ohio, it fetches at this time 1*s.* 6*d.* on account of the army. Cheese made in the country, 6*d.*; honey, 5*s.* per gal. Maple sugar is sold to the merchants by the country people for goods at 8*d.* and 1*s.* and is sold by them from 1*s.* to1*s.* 6*d.* West India sugar, 2*s.*; single refined (called double refined), 2*s.* 9*d.* and 3*s.*; treacle or molasses is made from the sugar tree.

Rum from Antigua 18*s.* to 20*s.* per gal.; brandy (peach), 6*s.*, but not good from the Monongahela. Some is made in this state, but not for sale. There is no French brandy nor gin in this country. Whiskey, some from Monongahela, 3*s.* 6*d.*, some made here, 3*s.* 6*d.*; wine, Teneriffe, 15*s.* to 18*s.* No good port. No wine made here. Beer (at the taverns) 9*d.* a qt.; seldom to be met with; cider eight dollars the barrel (32 gals.), including the cask; no porter.

Beef on the hoof, 14*s.* per 100 lbs. neat weight, grass fed; bought by the single joint, 2*d.* and 2½*d.* per lb. *(N.B. The neat weight of a steer above four years old is from five to eight hundred pounds.) Mutton, a fine fat sheep, the neat weight of which is eighty or ninety pounds (exclusive of the tallow and fleece), 18*s.* The tallow will weigh about 15 lb. which will yield 6*d.* per lb. A good wedder [wether] will yield 4 lb. of washed wool, which is worth 2*s.* 6*d.* a pound. Mutton at the butcher's, by the single joint, 3*d.* per lb. Veal Mr. M. never knew sold in the state of Kentucky, nor has he ever eaten any here. Lamb Mr. M. never knew any killed but for family use. Pork cannot be procured in this country for less than 20*s.* per 100 lbs., if it can be had for so little, as 26*s.* may be had for it opposite to the mouth of the Licking River. Fish, there is a variety in the season, such as *perch*, weighing from six to ten pounds, and a kind of *salmon*. The price is about 1*s.* a pound. There is no salt-water fish. Soft-shell turtle, which equals any turtle, abounds in the Ohio, Kentucky, and Licking, but the people are so little sensible of their value that when they come up in their nets, they usually throw them back again. Fowls half grown, from 3*s.* to 4*s.* per doz., ducks, 9*d.* each, geese a dollar a pair, being very scarce. Turkeys, tame ones not to be purchased, a good wild one 9*d.* or 1*s.* Pigeons, none sold. No wild fowl sold here.

Salt, made at the considerable licks in the southern parts of the state, costs from 15*s.* to 18*s.* per bush. by the time it reaches this county, so that it is cheaper to buy the alum [?] salt which is brought down the river and sold here for from 20*s.* to four dollars. They are just beginning to work a lick a little above Limestone, and when the works are carried on to any extent, salt will be cheap in this country, as it will be brought from thence by water down the Ohio.

*Mr. M. knew a steer three years old which after feeding upon nothing but such pasture as the woods afforded (except some salt) weighed 1100 lbs. neat. The tallow weighed 180 lbs. But the woods afford no such pasture now except on the frontiers.

Starch every family makes, and commonly from wheat. Soap is likewise made in private families; it may be bought at 6*d*. Candles the same; they sell at 1*s*. Wood costs the labor of cutting and haulling. *Coal:* no mine has yet been discovered in this country, but Mr. M. has several times seen large pieces of coal at the ford on the main fork of Licking which had been washed down by the stream.

Hats: a good muskrat hat, coated with beaver, may be bought for six dollars. They come from Baltimore. Some are made here, but the makers will not undersell the storekeepers.

Imported goods sell at an advance of nearly cent per cent, upon an average. The advance upon crockery ware is often six or seven hundred per cent. The advance upon groceries is also extravagant. Light goods sell as cheap here as in the country stores of Virginia. A very good walnut dining table, with two flaps, 50*s*. But furniture is dear, for the workmen have 50 per cent more here than in the seaports of the other states. Dining tables are 10*s*. per ft. Half-pint tumblers, 1*s*. or 1*s*. 2*d*.; a pair of plain decanters with common stoppers, two dollars.

The buildings in this country are commonly of logs, but there are some very good frame and stone buildings; and where stone can be had conveniently, it is cheaper than the wooden frame houses. The covering is walnut shingles. The flooring, blue ash. Windows are of glass. But on the frontiers, five or six cabins are often put together in a court with the doors opposite or at right angles, so that in case of an attack, you may fire through the holes of one door at the enemy before the other. In such cases they have no windows, but content themselves with the light which comes down the chimney, or at the door when open.

The price of scantling is a dollar for a hundred feet at the sawmill. There are four in the county. There are ten gristmills, of which one is a merchant mill, with burr stones. There are more, both grist and sawmills, erecting. For stone, you pay the proprietor of the land upon which it is found 6*d*. a rod for leave to raise it. The workman's wages depend upon the ease with which it is procured. By the day they have 3*s*. and provisions. Bricks are 2*s*. 6*d*. per 100, but Mr. M. has not seen any good ones, probably owing to the unskillfulness of the workmen. Lime is 6*d*. to 9*d*. per bush., and as good is made here as anywhere. Sand is scarce. It can be had by those only who live near the Kentucky, Licking, or Ohio rivers. Nothing but a black mold can be had elsewhere. Shingles of black

walnut are used, but are not to be purchased. A workman may be engaged to make them, nail on the laths, and put up the shingles at 10*s.* or 12*s.*, and provisions, per 100 square ft. A man makes and puts up the 100 square ft. of shingles in about a day and a half. He will make 300 in a day, for the wood is cut into lengths in readiness for him. Oak shingles sell at 2*s.* 6*d.* per 100. Glass – the cheapest method is to import it.

Carpenters' wages, a dollar a day and provisions; but it is best to hire by the job. Masons, 1*s.* 6*d.* and 2*s.* for putting up a rod of stone. (N.B. A rod is 5½ yards long, 1 foot high, and from 1 to 2 feet thick.) Bricksetters may be hired to mold, burn, and put up the bricks at two dollars a perch, the wall being two bricks thick to the second floor, and a brick and a half thick afterwards. You find tenders. The masons usually plaster at 2*d.* per coat for every square yard. Windows are usually finished by the carpenters.

The above are cash prices and every workman has provisions found. A man who builds a house and rents it expects to make from 10 to 15 per cent of his money.

Boarding is from 9*s.* to 15*s.* a week in the towns, but lower in the country, probably not more than £12 or £15 a year.

White servants are difficult to be had, and indifferent when procured, and expect at all times to be at the same table with their masters. Slaves are to be hired at from £10 to£18 a year. Female servants, £5 or £6. You clothe them and pay their taxes. A good healthy Negro will earn £30 a year in clearing land. His clothing, provisions, and taxes will amount to about £6–supposing that they live upon milk, bread, flesh meat, and have a patch of land to raise what they please and to feed their poultry. The few white female servants that are to be hired are the daughters of the poorer class of people. They have 3*s.* 6*d.* a week if they can spin. There are no indented servants.

*Answers to queries relative to employment*

Shoemakers, tailors, smiths, carpenters, weavers, and most mechanics and husbandmen are sure of employment, when they become known; but the surest way is for a man to rent a few acres of land, sufficient to maintain a few cows, hogs, and sheep, so as not to be entirely dependent upon the exercise of their trade. Indeed few men will work for others as they soon become enabled either to rent or to purchase land.

A tailor has 24*s*. for making a suit of clothes at his own house, or 30*s*. if he be paid in produce.

A shoemaker has 4*s*. 6*d*. for making a pair of men's shoes at his house. There is but one printer in Kentucky; and another who would undertake a gazette, and unite with it the business of a bookbinder, Mr. M. thinks, would have a good prospect of encouragement. A musical professor would not have much chance of succeeding at present, but a dancing master would meet with encouragement.

The women are employed in spinning, weaving, and household work. There are scarcely any instances of women remaining unmarried after arriving at mature age. Early marriages are so common that few are single at one and twenty.

Orphans, the interest of whose patrimony will not discharge the expenses of their education, are bound to such a trade as their friends approve, and the master is under an obligation to provide them with everything necessary, to have them instructed [in] reading, writing, and arithmetic, to give them a proper knowledge of his trade, and to furnish them with a new suit of clothes and £3 10*s*. at the age of twenty-one, when the term of servitude expires. This is the law both in Kentucky and Virginia.

The price of labor at present neither rises or falls.

Provisions are cheaper than they were at the first settlement of the country, but dearer than they were before the army was stationed opposite to the mouth of Licking.

*Natural circumstances*

There are a few swamps on the Ohio, and upon the head of the north fork of Licking, but all might be drained. There are both rattle and moccasin snakes in the summer but Mr. M. never knew a person die of the bite who used the proper remedies. The method is to scarify the part, and rub in salt, then to put on a poultice of the touch-me-not plant, and to drink plantain juice and milk. The juice of walnut bark likewise is serviceable as a blister, and the gizzard of a fowl is said to possess the same virtue. The puccoon root (a red root used by the Indians for paint) upon being rubbed on the limb affected will prevent the *extension* of the poison.

There are wolves, bears, panthers, wildcats, minks, black, gray, and yellow foxes, but none of them attack human beings, except the wildcat and wolves, in *particular cases*.

The hunters have a composition with which they rub the bottom of their moccasins or shoes and walk through the woods, and describe a circle with their feet in the spot to which the[y] mean to attract the wolves; here they erect a stage from which they shoot them in security. This composition has so powerful an effect that it will draw the wolves together from the distance of some miles, but should they overtake him before he reaches his stage, there is but little prospect of his escaping with his life.

A large fly which first comes in June, and continues four weeks, is very tormenting to the horses and cattle; it is succeeded by another, still worse, which continues till the cold weather. The common fly prevails here, in the same degree as in Virginia. There are no mosquitoes in this part of Kentucky, though it is said there are some on Green River. The gnats are troublesome in the summer months. A most excellent plum grows in the woods, and likewise wild cherries, hickory nuts, walnuts, puccoon nuts (a very fine fruit), raspberries, pawpaws, and grapes, but not palatable ones, and strawberries on the poorer lands. The only cultivated fruits which the inhabitants of this country have had time to raise are peaches, melons of all kinds, and currants. The soil is too rich for strawberries, till it has been impoverished. The vine of the strawberry grows so luxuriantly that it affords a continual succession of blossoms, without allowing time to the fruit to come to maturity. Raspberries flourish finely.

Amongst the medical roots, plants, etc., are the senna, the puccoon root, the snakeroot, ginseng, and various others, the virtues of which are known to the Indians in the cure of ruptures, dropsies, etc.

*Medical*

The rheumatism frequently affects the hunters. They are likewise subject to the pleurisy. The influenza has prevailed this year. Other epidemic diseases are unknown, except the smallpox.

Emigrants are not *particularly* subject to any disease. In all probability colds are not so common as in England.

There are medical men, but a physician of a regular education and ability would probably meet with encouragement.

The three medical professions are united. Midwifery is in common cases performed by females.

*Social*

Mason County is separated from Virginia by the Cumberland Mountains on the east, and by Sandy River on the north; from the western territory by the Ohio, and from the rest of Kentucky by the Licking River, on the south. From the mouth of Sandy to the mouth of Licking, the distance down the Ohio is 160 miles, and there is no nearer road. From the mouth of Licking to the Cumberland Mountain must be 140 or 150 miles. The number of tithables (i.e., of free males above sixteen and slaves of both sexes above that age) is 1,660; of these about 160 are slaves. The proportion of tithables to the whole number of inhabitants must be greater in this county than would result from the general proportion. The population of the country is somewhat scattered, but three fourths of it are within eight miles of the town of Washington. There are none settled more than twenty-five miles eastward of the courthouse, except at one station, which is a little farther. The town of Washington is one mile long. It is divided into half-acre lots, with an out lot of five acres annexed to each. There are very few of the half-acre lots which are not built upon in the main street.

In general the people are quiet and inoffensive, sociable and hospitable, but illiterate and uninformed, except in the more common branches of knowledge.

The county of Mason has hitherto been settled principally by the poorest class of people who have emigrated from New England, New York, Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and whose finances were too low to enable them to proceed any farther into the country. Some, however, are beginning to retire from the more settled to the more frontier situations, and afford room to a less indigent class of settlers. For that attachment to the hunting life, which is contracted by a residence on the frontiers, renders a man uneasy in a populous neighborhood and restless till he can again enjoy an unbounded range in the woods. Persons of this description retire to the eastern limits of the county, or to the territory northwestward of the Ohio.

Between five hundred and eight hundred plantations have been opened in this county since January last.

No man can affect a superiority of situation, as in Europe, but at his peril. If a man have not property to render him independent, he hath strength and ability to be useful, which hath an equal effect.

Excepting European emigrants, persons who have been educated on the frontiers, and those who were early taken prisoners by the

Indians, there are none who are unacquainted with reading, writing, and arithmetic. Many have enjoyed a grammar education.

The goodness of the roads depend[s] upon the weather. The soil being much richer, they are rendered much worse by rain than the roads in other parts of America. There is a state road from Limestone to Lexington, from Limestone to the mouth of Licking in part, and from Washington to the ironworks in the upper part of the county. Some of these roads were originally made by the buffaloes traveling from their pastures to the licks or those spots of land which are impregnated with salt. Whenever a road to a place is thought desirable, application is made to the county court, who summons the owners of the land, through which the road is proposed to pass, to show cause why the road should not be made. Should the proprietors object to the road, and the court still think it necessary, a jury of landholders is appointed to view the intended tract, and to estimate the damage which will be sustained by every proprietor. When the road is determined upon, every tithable in the neighborhood is commanded to work upon it. Substitutes are admitted, with the consent of the overseer. The roads are adapted for carriages, but they proceed with great difficulty in bad weather, owing to the richness of the soil.

There are several inns of one description or another between Limestone and Lexington. The best are at Washington, 4 miles; Mays Lick, 8; the Blue Licks for forage, 12; Hinckston, 12, good accommodations; Bourbon Courthouse, 8; Hollocks, 7; Lexington, 17. The charges are from 15*d.* to 18*d.* for every meal. For a night's hay for a horse 1*s.*, for a half a peck of corn, 6*d.* to 8*d.* The inns are not provided with carriages or post horses. There are no stage wagons, but frequent wagons come from Lexington to Limestone for loading, and carry goods from thence to Lexington at 7*s.* 6*d.* and 8*s.* per 100 lb. It takes three days if the road be tolerable. There are no stagecoaches.

There is only one public post established by Congress, who rides at stated periods (once a fortnight) to and from Danville through the Wilderness; the post office is kept at Danville, but when the stage boats now erecting on the Ohio are perfected, the mail will be sent by water to Pittsburgh, and from thence to the different post offices, or to the seat of government.

*Religion*

Religion is supported by volunteer subscriptions. There is perhaps a want of rational zeal in the Episcopal church, for there is no Episcopal minister in the county. This may partly, perhaps, be attributed to habits contracted when members of an *established* church, partly to the disgust arising from the fanaticism and bigotry discovered by the members of some other sects, and partly to a dread of being fettered in the exercise of their political rights by means of ecclesiastical connections.

The zeal of many of the sects is said to be deformed by bigotry. There is a Baptists' meeting house at Washington, and another is building at Mays Lick. The Methodists worship in private houses. There was a Presbyterian minister, but he had only £100 a year, and left the county. Some of their religious teachers are respectable characters, and it is to be lamented that the conduct of any one should have afforded any foundation for a charge of hypocrisy.

*Moral and intellectual*

There are several schools for common English education, but there is a complaint of a deficiency of able teachers. There are no public libraries nor book societies in the county. The Lexington newspaper circulates pretty generally in this county. There are not any either virtues or vices peculiar to this county. There are persons addicted to drinking, swearing, and gaming. Their recreations are hunting (i.e., with the gun), horse racing, fives playing, and the games of chance.

The land speculators of Philadelphia and others, who know nothing of Kentucky, tell you that half the people, through the practice of gouging, have no eyes. They have heard old tales of this kind about Virginia. They believe them all, and apply them to Kentucky.

*Political*

A considerable part of Mason County is a frontier. The Indians have never appeared in this state in large bodies since the year 1782, and there is no danger of it. Their hunting grounds lie at a distance up the Ohio. It would be unsafe for them to hunt in the neighborhood of the settlements, and they would be unable to subsist were they to undertake a distant expedition. The danger arising to the frontiers is from skulking parties of five or six, though they have sometimes amounted to thirty, who come for the purpose of steal-

ing horses and Negroes and of getting the scalps of such persons as fall in their way. In doing this, they are encouraged by the British traders, who purchase the horses and Negroes of them. All the frontiers of the county are exposed to such depredations, but the settlements about Washington render it secure within a few miles of that town; and the settlements on each side protect the road between Limestone and Lexington.

The nearest British post is at Detroit, which is between two and three hundred miles distant; there are trifling Spanish stations at the Walnut Hills on the western side of the Mississippi, about 600 miles from the falls of the Ohio, at the Beopier, 750, at the Natchez, 200 farther, at Ballerouge, 150 from the Natchez, and at New Orleans, 90 from the mouth of the Mississippi; all of which are to the people of Kentucky rather an object of enterprise, than of fears in case of a rupture with those powers. There is no fear of being attacked from the sea, since it is eleven or twelve hundred miles from the falls of the Ohio to the ocean.

N.B. Many other questions are answered in the account of Kentucky in general, and Fayette County in particular.

*Agricultural particulars*

The land in this country is, in general, broken. Much of it, however, is what I should rather term *waving*, neither a dead flat nor hilly. But the most broken parts are more level than the country on the Monongahela, and the tops of the hills are highly fertile and capable of being converted into the most valuable meadows.

This country is very well watered. There is a multitude of streams which discharge themselves into the Ohio and the Licking Creek, and afford an abundance of good mill seats. There are not any pools of standing water of any consequence. The soil is in general rich loam. In the first-rate land (of which there are one million of acres in this county) it is black . The richest and blackest mold continues to about the depth of five or six inches. Then succeeds a lighter-colored, friable mold which extends about fifteen inches farther. When dry it will blow away with the wind, but it is perfectly free from sand or gravel or any kind of grit. Next comes a stratum of friable earth which is sometimes a kind of marl, and sometimes clay, and at the distance of three feet from the surface is often intermixed with marine petrifactions. The clay is either blue or white and bakes without cracking. It is of a soft, greasy nature, and when

mixed with oil, very well answers the end of putty. You may dig several feet without coming to the limestone. In the first- and second-rate lands, the mold is of a lighter color, and the second stratum is mixed with a little gravel. The first- and second-rate lands are generally intermixed. The south side of the hills are generally poor, the north side rich and *luxuriant*.

There is in this county a considerable proportion of third-rate land, the soil of which is a paler mold, and it lies in bodies distant from the first- and second-rate. It will not admit of being thickly settled, but it will probably become a considerable grazing country.

The predominant stratum in all these different kinds of land is limestone, which runs in a horizontal direction, and is to be percieved on the sides of hills and at the bottoms of the watercourses.

In the first-rate land, in the very black and light soil, are black and white walnut; hackberry, bearing a sweet nut, not unlike a cherry; honey locust; black locust; buckeye (so called on account of its bearing a nut somewhat resembling the eye of a deer); mahogany, which bears a nut which when prepared by drying resembles coffee in its taste; burr oak (which bears an acorn with a long fringe round its shell); cherry tree; scaly-barked and white hickory; sugar tree; mulberry; elder; elm, red and white (N.B. The red elm bark is valuable for bruises and wounds and is also nutritive food; the white elm bark is used for dyeing red); grape vine; poplar; white gum; sycamore; and puccoon on the banks of the river; sassafras and lyn [linden?] (the inner bark of which is good for burns).

Another kind of first-rate land, when the soil is somewhat stiffer, produces, besides the timber above enumerated, the blue ash (so called from a property which the wood has of dyeing blue), the roots of which render this kind of land more difficult to be cultivated.

The *undergrowth* found on first-rate land is spice wood, paw-paw, white thorn, plums, wild apples, black thorn, cancerweed, and the saplings of the timber. At a distance from the settlements where the ground has not been trodden, herbs and grass grow luxuriantly in the woods, that you may trace even the footsteps of a turkey with the same ease as if the earth were covered with snow. The sorts of grass are white clover, of a kind peculiar to this country; rye grass; a sort of blue grass, or greensward; fern; the gall of the earth (containing in the stalks and leaves a juice which is esteemed a valuable application for the bite of a snake); wild ginger; a vegetable called

the Shawnee cabbage; and another called the Shawnee lettuce. After a settlement has been established and stock has been turned into the woods, a high, white-blossomed weed puts up in a few years, which keeps down the pasture and consequently destroys the summer range.

In the second-rate land, all the timber of the first-rate land, except the buckeye and the box elder, [grows], but the rich growth is scarce. The prevailing timber is white oak, red oak, Spanish oak (different, however, from the Spanish oak of the eastern country), hickory, dogwood (the bark of which has some of the properties of Peruvian bark). The undergrowth is spicewood, pawpaw, briars, raspberries.

The timber of the third-rate land is the same as that of the second; but white oak prevails most, whereas red oak prevails most in the second-rate. The third-rate has no spicewood or pawpaw.

There is likewise some of the poorest land upon the face of the earth in this country, particularly on Sandy River, Tigants Creek, Killiecrankie Creek (the Indian name for Sumac), the head of Licking, and in general on the mean branch of Licking, and on part of Salt Lick Creek, none of which are worth a pinch of snuff, though (being taken up to speculate upon) many have made and many have ruined their fortunes by them. The country they lie upon is amazingly hilly. Most of the large tracts taken up in 1784 and since are of this description. The timber upon this kind of land is chestnut, chestnut-oak, laurel, pine, and all the poor growth.

In the good lands of Kentucky, the vegetation is astonishingly rapid. Mr. Marshall has known the Indian corn, just before the time at which the tassels appear at the top, grow six or eight inches in twenty-four hours in wet or warm weather. He has known the buckeye tree, in the month of April, grow nine or ten inches in three weeks from the time of the bursting of the bud. He has frequently grafted apple stocks, the seeds producing which were sown the preceding season and which were about the size of a rye stalk; and has seen it grow from the place of grafting (which is within three inches of the surface of the earth) to the length of six or seven feet, and to the size of a man's thumb or larger. Mahogany sprouts, from the side of the tree near the earth, frequently grow in three or four months to the length of seven feet, and will measure four or five inches in circumference.

As to the size of the timber, it is not uncommon to see the burr oak, in the best lands, five to seven feet through; the sycamore much larger, but generally hollow; the poplar ten feet; and the hickory, which in the eastern country seldom exceeds one foot, often three feet through. The first-rate lands, however, have no great proportion of large timber.

Both the woods and the meadows are covered in the spring with an infinite variety of the most beautiful flowers.

Squirrels, raccoons, opossums, hedgehogs, wildcats, bears, and crows are destructive to the Indian corn in the ear; but after all have had their share, and taken out of a twenty-acre field as much as the produce of two or three acres, it is usual to calculate upon fifty bushels to the acre* when the field is well cultivated, and tolerably free from shade, notwithstanding that it is still encumbered with the stumps of the trees which used to grow upon it.

Moles, ground squirrels, ground mice, large squirrels, and crows are troublesome when the corn is just putting up. They scratch up the earth and eat the seed. Wolves, bears, panthers, wildcats attack the sheep, pigs, colts, and calves. Minks, opossums, and foxes are troublesome to the poultry; but these animals decrease in the old settlements. Near Lexington, the sheep range unmolested.

The earthworm will eat off the Indian corn, hemp, flax, cabbage, and watermelons, unless they be planted early, which is a sufficient remedy. There is no insect or worm which injures the grain in the ear, except a little web worm, which in all parts of America eats into the end of the Indian corn, but does no injury to be regarded.

The caterpillar has done considerable injury to the sugar tree and to fruit trees. In the latter it is kept off by sulphur, but nothing has yet been found to arrest its depredations on the sugar tree.

In consequence of the richness of the soil, the wheat in wet seasons becomes so luxuriant as to be unable to support itself. The consequence is that it bends towards the earth and is affected by the mildew. The remedy is to pasture the wheat with cattle, sheep, hogs, and horses, till with[in] two months or ten weeks of harvest, and the harder the ground is trodden the more secure the crop is rendered.

The climate is more temperate than in any other part of the United States. The summers are less hot than they are in Old Vir-

*In Frederick and Berkeley counties (some of the best of the eastern country) or Shenandoah Valley, they calculate upon no more than sixteen bushels, except on bottom lands.

ginia or in the valley between the Blue Ridge and the Allegheny. The nights are seldom so hot that you cannot lie comfortably under a blanket. The winters are neither so long nor so severe as they are between the Blue Ridge and the Allegheny (Shenandoah Valley) nor even as they are upon the Rappahannock. The Ohio, indeed, even in this latitude has been sometimes frozen over, but this is to be attributed in a great measure, probably, to the influence of the frost in the higher parts of the river, where it is annually frozen over, and from whence large flakes of ice are borne down the stream. It generally keeps floating down a week before it unites and forms a frozen surface on this part of the Ohio. The Kentucky River has continued to run when the Ohio has been frozen over.

The winters of Kentucky probably resemble very nearly those of the southern part of England. More rain falls here than in the eastern country; but it is said more rain fell in that country when it was first settled. This is the common idea, but the most attentive and accurate observers are of a different opinion; they say it rains oftener but not so much upon the whole.

No observations on the thermometer have been made. Men are unable to work at no time but when it rains too hard. It is not common to do anything in the cultivation of the ground from the latter end of November to the first of March; but the earth may be broken up, and is sometimes, in January and February.

Foggy days are not common except on the large watercourses, and there in the morning only. The weather is not remarkably changeable.

Cattle are not liable to be distressed for pasture for want of rain, unless the pastures are overstocked, and in wet summers it is scarcely possible to eat the grass down. There is always a constant verdure through the summer, and there is always a sufficiency of water.

The cultivated grasses are clover, timothy, and blue grass of a different kind from that which is natural to the soil.

The greatest quantity of rain that falls is at the equinoctial seasons. The winter generally consists of an alternation of rain and frost, but the rain usually predominates; the snow seldom lies long. A storm of wind and rain will occur two or three times in the course of a year, but such storms have not yet been productive of any destructive effects. Harvest sometimes is interrupted by rain, but not to such a degree as to injure the crops. Mr. Marshall never knew the grain injured by the spring frosts. In the year 1790 the apples

and peaches were destroyed by them in some places. Kidney beans are sometimes cut off by spring frosts, but they recover again.

Mr. M. has known an indifferent crop of Indian corn follow a crop of wheat in the same year, but turnips and buckwheat may regularly be had as a second crop. Indian corn has frequently been raised the same year after flax.

The length of the winter is from the middle of December to the middle of March; but even then there is so much verdure remaining in the woods that the cattle will eat their dry food only on frosty days.

The most agreeable seasons are the dry parts of the spring and fall. The rain sometimes falls in March and April, when May and June are dry, which is favorable to the wheat, as it renders it fit to be pastured late. If it falls in May and June, the wheat is beaten down, and the crop proves but indifferent, though in the last season, which was one of the most unfavorable, a person who measured his produce found that he had twenty-five bushels to the acre. Had the season been favorable he would have expected forty. In good seasons the wheat weighs from sixty to sixty-five pounds to the bushel. In bad seasons, from fifty-five to sixty pounds.

The autumnal rain often falls about the latter end of September, but if it does not come till November, the mills are stopped.

There are, probably, about 1,200 plantations in this county, including what are now forming, and if we reckon ten acres of cleared land to every plantation, taking one with another, the sum of cleared land in the county will be 12,000 acres. By cleared land is meant land the timber of which is so far cut down as to render it capable of producing a crop.

The price of land depends very much upon situation with regard to the town (Washington) and with regard to the River Ohio, and the possibility of making a road from the land to the river, for the banks of the river do not always admit of a road. Near Washington it cannot be purchased for less than 20*s.* an acre (15*s.* sterling). The best land in such a situation as this (Captain Marshall's) which is seven miles from town and the same from the river will sell from 10*s.* to two dollars an acre (i.e., from 7*s.* 6*d.* to 9*s.* sterling). I always mean the statute acre.

As to the rent of such land, Mr. Marshall sets his upon the following terms: the four first years, the tenant has the land rent free, and after that he is to pay annually $12 per 100 acres and he is under an

obligation to leave one-fifth of the land uncleared. He has the land on a lease for three lives.

At a distance from the settlements and from the Ohio (i.e., two or three miles from the settlements), good lands may be purchased for from £10 to £30 per 100 acres (i.e., £7 10*s*. to £22 10*s*. sterling) and what is out of the settlements in one year may be in the heart of them the next year.

The second-rate lands will produce every crop which has been tried upon them equally well with the first, and the timber is better, but they are usually more broken or hilly.

An estate of 100 acres, which would be worth 10*s*. per acre in the woods, will with 15 acres cleared and fenced, and a log cabin, sell for 20*s*. per acre. The rent is either 10*s*. an acre for the cleared land, reckoning the woodland for nothing, or ten bushels of Indian corn, which sells for 15*s*.—or for one-third of the produce, which an industrious tenant would consider as the most unfavorable terms of the three. A good pair of manageable oxen are worth from forty to fifty dollars. A good cow and calf, £3 5*s*. to £4. The neat weight of a good cow when fit for the butcher is 450 to 500 lbs.

The demands of the army have raised the price of horses very much. A tolerable horse fit for plantation purposes may be had perhaps from £10 to £12, saddle horses from £15 to £30. You may have your choice of good breeding ewes at 15*s*. apiece; or you may buy a flock of young and old together at 10*s*. or two dollars a head. A sow with a litter of small pigs, two to four dollars.

Bar iron is 10*d*. or 1*s*. a pound, and smith's work is dearer in proportion. He will have a shilling for working a pound, so that the prices of plows and harrows are considerably higher than in the Atlantic states, and a person coming from thence ought to bring away with him plow-irons, harrow-teeth, hoes, axes, etc. The hoes and axes of England will not answer, as none of the proper sort are made there. Carts are little used here. A plantation wagon costs from £9 to £18, and a road wagon from £18 to £30. Good twill for sacks, 2*s*. 6*d*. a yard; a three-bushel sack, a dollar and a half. Hay sells for 2*s*. to 2*s*. 6*d*. per 100 lbs.

Horses for plantation purposes are not shod.

New settlers content themselves with very few buildings. The only indispensable building is a long, square corn house which is made of rough logs, without having the interstices stopped. But a barn, stable, and even a cowhouse would be advantageous.

There is no tax to the church, and the highways are made and supported by personal service. The poor rates last year were nothing. The year before they were 9*d.* a tithable; the year before that it was 2*s.* 6*d.*, and the preceding year half a dollar. This charge was owing in a great measure to the country being newly settled, and having to maintain for some time two poor men who had been wounded by the Indians in coming down the Ohio. And the charges in the other years were owing to the circumstance of this being the country in which emigrants land, and to the policy of the overseers in Monongahela County, Pennsylvania, in persuading those who are burdensome to them to remove to the plentiful state of Kentucky.

The county rate last year was 4*s.* 6*d.* per tithable, and the year before it was 6*s.* The amount of this is expended in building a gaol, stocks, a courthouse, and bridges; in paying rewards for killing wolves; in paying the salaries of the attorney for the Republic, the sheriff, and the clerk of the court. The stated salaries of the sheriff and the clerk are 1200 lbs. of tobacco. The clerk's is estimated at 1*d.* per lb., the sheriff's at 1½*d.* per lb., and he has besides 6*d.* per centum on the money raised by the county rate. The attorney for the Commonwealth, in this county, has £25 a year for his *ex officio* duty, and 15*s.* from the defendant for every cause in which the verdict is for the Republic. This amounts to about £15 a year more. In looking over the clerk's account of one year, I observed that fees were granted for 33 wolves' heads at 12*s.* 6*d.* a head.

The taxes which affect the cultivator are 3*d.* a head on cattle, 9*d.* on horses, 2*s.* on slaves. These taxes are reduced. There was a land tax of 2*s.* per 100 acres. It is 3*s.* for first-rate land, 1*s.* 6*d.* for second, 9*d.* for third. After the year 1795, anyone who neglects to pay the tax will forfeit the whole of the tract for which the tax is due, and those who have large tracts of land from which they have no expectation of profit will rather choose to give them up than pay an annual sum of 2*s.* for every 100 acres.

It is peculiarly difficult for a man of property to hire a laborer. He must humor him a good deal, and make him sit at the same table with him. Laborers are more easily procured by men whose stations in life are nearly similar to their own, and the labor is given in payment for some article purchased of the employer. The few who will labor for others are principally emigrants from the Atlantic states.

Mr. M. gives 2*s*. per 100 [for] making rails, including the cutting down of the timber, and splitting into proper pieces. A man will make 150 in a day. He has his provisions found for him.

Smiths generally work according to the piece of iron.

There are slaves in this county, and emigrants are permitted to bring their slaves with them, but none are to be brought for the sake of traffic. The Constitution itself withholds from the legislature the power of abolishing slavery without making a compensation to the proprietors. The law lays no obstruction in the way of any man liberating his own slaves; whereas whilst Virginia was under the crown of Britain, no one could liberate a slave without giving security for his good behavior, and for his never becoming burdensome to the parish. Mr. M. can form no idea as to the probability of the abolition of slavery in this state. The advocates for it have as yet been unable to digest any plan in which there is a general concurrence among themselves. The heat of the climate will certainly be no obstruction. Thousands of families have now no slaves. White men discover no inability to go through the necessary labor.

Mr. Marshall's slaves have plenty of vegetables, milk, and flesh meat, and two suits of clothes a year, or when they want them. How they are *generally* treated he does not know. The laws of this state are the same as Virginia. No laws can protect a slave against the thousand provocations which it is in the power of a petulant master or mistress to offer.

There are no indented servants.

Negroes are not seated at the same table with the master of the family.

Mr. Marshall means to retain 1,000 acres of his landed property in his own hands, and proposes dividing them into three farms, as his hands are too many to be worked in one farm. At present, however, there is but one farm. He entered upon it whilst it was entirely in a state of nature, two years ago. His Negroes, at present, [amount] in all to 22, but his working hands have been during some part of the two years two men and two women, though at one time he had but one man and two women. He has now fifty acres ready for cultivation, and with this winter's work he expects to have ten more. One acre and a quarter he keeps for pasture, three and a quarter are kept for meadow, one and a half for flax, and the remainder is in Indian corn, with which is intermixed a kind of kidney bean, and pumpkins to feed the stock upon in the fall. He began

with three cows and calves and has procured three since. Many of his calves were unfortunately bulls, and having killed as he wanted for the family he has now twenty-four head of horned cattle.

When he came to this plantation he had twenty-four head of sheep, but the wolves have been very destructive, and he has killed enough to supply his family with mutton, so that his present stock is now only thirty-nine, whereas he had, a few months since, forty-two.

He has seven horses, but two only, and very generally only one, have worked at the plow. It will be five or six years before he will consider his estate as properly stocked.

A man who comes in the fall to settle in the woods with a family of three or four children should be able to purchase fifty or sixty bushels of Indian corn, and as much bacon as will serve them for five or six months, a cow or two, two or three ewes, a sow, a horse, a plow, a hoe, and axe. When a man is going to settle, he leaves his wife and family in some neighboring cabin, puts up a little shed for himself, and cuts down the timber, which will be wanted in building his log cabin. When this is ready he gives notice to his neighbors, who assemble and raise the building for him. He provides meat and bread for them, and sometimes a little whiskey. If he can begin to clear about Christmas, and is industrious, and knows something of the work, he may easily clear ten acres, and put them in Indian corn, which will more than furnish his family and stock with necessary provisions. He must have assistance in rolling his logs, but he repays it by helping those who help him. His wife spins the wool for clothing, and the weaver is paid either in toll from the cloth or in corn. Many begin in the woods without having any stock but a horse. The prevailing size of estates are from one hundred to five or six hundred acres. Some are no more than fifty, and some have 150,000. Leased estates are generally from fifty to two hundred acres. Probably three-fourths are tenants, but many of them have lands of their own on the frontiers.

There are some people who have not flesh meat above one half their time, but it is either because they are too indolent to procure it, or too thrifty to use it. The female part of the family are employed in spinning, household work, etc. But those who have many servants often find that the attention they require leaves no time but for a little inside work.

Almost every kind of goods of which there is a regular consumption are manufactured in the household way.

To prepare the land for the Indian corn, they grub the small trees, belt the large ones, and such as are not immediately killed by belting, viz. hackberry, white elm, sugar tree, beech, they grub, burning the brush and timber which is cut down. They then plow without harrowing, though some have contented themselves with hoeing.

The produce depends very much upon the industry and attention of [the] farmer, but 25 bushels per acre is no more than a common crop of wheat in a good year; upon a fallow 39 bushels have been raised. The average of wheat, sown among Indian corn, is about 16 bushels. The average produce in Indian corn is about 40 bushels, though 70 have been produced. Near Boonsborough, 125 [bushels] and 3 pecks were once raised upon an acre. The quantity of seed sown upon an acre is about 3 pecks--of Indian corn, 3 or 4 pints; it is planted in hills, five feet from one another every way, and five or six grains are put into a hill.

The first year is the best for a lazy man; the following for an industrious man, as cultivation will do more then than at the beginning.

It is a very decisive proof of the excellence of this soil compared with that on the eastward of the Allegheny, that it is cultivated with much less labor, and with less detriment to the implements of husbandry.

November, December, January, February, March, and April are employed in clearing lands and rendering them fit for the plow. They likewise beat out hemp and flax in those months, thresh grain and get firewood, but this is done in clearing the land. Oats and flax are sowed in March or April. In May they plant the Indian corn. In June it is cultivated in plowing between the rows and hoeing with the hand. They likewise pull and secure the flax in stacks and sow hemp in May or June. July is employed in the harvest of wheat (1) and other small grain (2) of timothy (for the clover is cultivated for pasture only). Those patches of new land which are designed for turnips are also prepared for seed in this month. In August they thresh for seeding, but a new settler clears his land, and it is the best month in the year for that purpose. September is employed in securing the corn, fodder, in seeding wheat, rye, and barley, till about the 20th of October, when they begin to gather the Indian corn, which finds employ till some time in the month of November.

The implements used are the plow, the hoe, and sometimes the harrow. The shovel plow is principally used for Indian corn.

Patents are granted by the federal government to improved implements, if any can be made there. Some few use manure upon their meadows. The soil does not require it in general. For the cultivation of wheat the land itself is too rich at first.

Watering of meadows is not practiced.

They make use of the worm fence. The post and rail fencing is but little used.

Their course of crops in new land: Indian corn forever, except what is appropriated to hemp. Those who cultivate wheat never grow more than two crops of it successively, as it is likely to be injured by a voluntary crop from the preceding year's stubble. Sometimes wheat and Indian corn are had alternately.

Drill husbandry is not practiced, except that the Indian corn is sometimes drilled by hand in rows. They likewise drill the potatoes, which are planted in pieces. Grain is sometimes threshed by horses, but more generally by flails.

The estates are appropriated chiefly to grain, as ground is not cleared enough for pasturing to any considerable extent. When there shall be a sufficient quantity of land cleared, it will no doubt be a very important object to raise large stocks of cattle to go over the mountains. But at present the demand from emigrants and from the army, both for grain and for cattle, is greater than can be supplied.

Indian corn is the leading article produced.

Everyone makes sugar from the natural sugar tree and some are beginning to leave the tree standing when they clear the ground, and they are of the opinion that the detriment which the crops receive from the shade, is in some measure compensated for in the advantage it is of to the stock.

Cattle, sheep, hogs, and horses are raised and fed. Horses and oxen are used in husbandry. The wool of their sheep is pretty fine and long. Cows are subject to the hollow horn, horses to the blind staggers, the farcy, and a distemper in the foot which endangers their hoofs. The sheep are very healthy. The winter support of cattle is hay, fodder, the bark of the linhack berry, beech, and mulberry.

The produce is sold to the army and immigrants; some tobacco, flour, and limestone have been sent down to New Orleans. It is taken there in flat-bottomed boats—four hands will work a boat—

which will carry 10,000 or 30,000 lbs. weight, and they have from $20 to $30 each for the trip and are to find themselves both out and home. Those who have been concerned in the trade tell me that the whole expense of sending flour to New Orleans is a dollar per barrel, the same that it now costs to send it from Lancaster to Philadelphia. The duty at present paid to the Spaniards is 5 per cent, and 6 more if it go out again.

Flour at this time sells for the army at five dollars the barrel at the mouth of Licking.

A cultivator is obliged to purchase salt and iron; everything besides depends upon a man's habit and his industry.

# VIII

## *An Account of the Stock, Produce, etc., of Colonel Bullet's Estate near the Falls of the Ohio, in Jefferson County*

THE plantation on which Colonel Bullet lives consists of 500 acres of lands, of which 150 are under fence and cultivated. Being land of the first rate, eligibly situated and in the heart of the settlement, it would be worth twenty shillings per acre in the woods. The clearing and fencing ought to be estimated at forty shillings per acre, so that the whole estate, in its present condition, exclusive of the building, is worth eight hundred pounds.

His object being not to raise large stocks of cattle, but to produce grain and tobacco, his hands bear a greater proportion to his stock than the hands on some other estates in the neighborhood do to the stock on the same. He has fourteen laboring hands, which are entirely employed in the fields; eight of them are males; six are females. The men upon an average are worth £90 apiece; the women, £70; total, £1140.

He has four horses and a wagon, which at £20 apiece are worth £100. He has two bar-share plows, worth 30*s.* each; and three shovel plows worth 10*s.* each; twelve hoes, worth 8*s.* apiece; two grubbing hoes, worth the same; six axes worth 14*s.* each; two scythes worth 8*s.* each; twelve reaping hooks worth 3*s.* each; total £16 18*s.*

He has thirty head of black cattle, which may be estimated at 30*s.* a head; total, £45. He has fifty hogs, worth $50 (£15). He has two breeding mares which are kept merely for breeding, worth together £50.

(N.B. Riding horses and hands not used in the plantation are not mentioned)

*Statement of the whole*

| | £ | *s.* |
|---|---|---|
| Plantation | 800 | |
| Hands | 1140 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Horses & Wagon | 100 | |
| Implements | 16 | 18 |
| Cattle | 45 | |
| Hogs | 15 | |
| Mares | 50 | |
| | £2166 | 18 |

The annual expenses are as follows:

| | | | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Every Negro has 7 yards of linen at 2s. 6d. (for 14 Negroes) | | | | 12 | 5 | |
| 5 yards of kendal cotton at 4s... | | | | 14 | 0 | |
| 1 pair of shoes at 10s..... | | | | 7 | 0 | |
| Every horse has 60 bush. of corn which at 1s. 6d. the bush. makes the expense of 6 horses..... | | | | 27 | 0 | |
| Every slave has 20 bush. of corn which at 30s. each slave ..... | | | | 21 | 0 | |
| The overseer having a wife and child has 60 bush. | | | | 4 | 10 | |
| The cattle and hogs consume 200 bush..... | | | | 22 | 18 | |
| Every hand has 100 lbs. of pork, which at 14s. costs, for the whole..... | | | | 9 | 16 | |
| The overseer has 600 lbs..... | | | | 4 | 4 | |
| The slaves, overseer, and stock consume 12 bush. of salt at a dollar (though it is now higher)..... | | | | 3 | 12 | |
| The smith work in repairing wagons, plows, etc. | | | | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| 20 hogsheads to hold 20,000 lbs. tobacco cost..... | | | | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| The wagonage of do. to Campbell's warehouse below the falls is 9s. per hhd..... | | | | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| The wagonage of 600 bush. at 15s. per load of 40 bush. ..... | | | | 11 | 5 | |
| The wages of the overseer are one-tenth of the whole produce, which was in the last year | | | | | | |
| 300 bush. of corn..... | £22 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| 60 bush. of wheat at 4s..... | 12 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| 2 hhd. tobacco at 14s. 3d. per hundred ..... | 14 | 5 | 0 | | | |
| 200 lbs. hemp at 24s..... | 2 | 8 | 0 | 51 | 3 | 0 |
| Total annual expenses | | | | £213 | 5 | 0 |

Except the taxes which are:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 500 acres of land at 2s. per 100..... | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| (N.B. It will be 3s. in future for first-rate land.) | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14 slaves at 2*s.* | 1 | 8 | 0 | | | |
| 6 horses at 8*d.* (now 6*d.*) | 0 | 4 | 0 | | | |
| 30 head cattle 3*d.* (now 1½*d.*) | | 7 | 6 | | | |
| County levy 3*s.* a tithable | 2 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 11 | 6 |
| Grain for seed omitted | | | | | | |
| 30 bush. wheat at 3*s.* | 4 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| 10 bush. corn at 1*s.* 6*d.* | 0 | 15 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Total annual expense | | | £ | 223 | 1 | 6 |

*The Produce*

The 150 acres are divided into fields, two meadows, and one orchard.

Two fields of 25 acres each produce 3000 bush. of Indian corn.

One field of 30 acres produce at the rate of 20 bush. per acre, being sown among Indian corn: 600 bush.*

One field of 20 acres in tobacco produced 1000 lbs. per acre (from three to four plants making a pound, but most commonly the latter): 20,000 lbs. of tobacco.

Two acres of hemp in a cornfield made probably 1,200 lbs. of hemp.

From do., 20 lbs. of flax.

The remainder of the plantation consisted of twelve acres in an apple and peach orchard, a garden, and in two enclosures one of which was used as a pasture, the other mowed as a meadow. The hay, Indian corn, corn blades, and straw were abundantly more than sufficient for the stock above mentioned and six other horses, but are not salable articles.

The two mares produced two colts.

The stock of hogs afforded 4,000 lbs. of pork and bacon.

The cattle afforded milk and two beeves weighing 800 lbs. neat.

The natural increase of the slaves is a very considerable addition to the property of the planter. They increase in this country more rapidly than white people, and a Negro a year old is worth £10.

This produce was disposed of in the following manner, Colonel Bullet's whole family consisting of the overseer, his wife and child, Colonel Bullet, his wife and four children, and forty-five Negroes (among whom are two spinners, a carpenter, a gardener, hostler,

*In Shenandoah Valley (the best tract of land in this part of the country), the same cultivation will produce but 6 or 7 bushels at most.

etc.). The following part of the produce was appropriated to the use of his family and stock:

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2000 bushels of Indian corn at 1s. 6d. | 150 | 0 | 0 |
| 1200 lbs. hemp, at $4 per 100 lbs. | 14 | 8 | 0 |
| 100 bush. wheat at 3s. | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| 20 lb. flax | | 10 | 0 |
| 4000 lbs. pork at 14s. per 100 lbs. | 28 | 0 | 0 |
| 800 lbs. beef at 12s. per 100 lbs. | 4 | 16 | 0 |
| lbs. of tallow at .... | | | |
| The remaining 1000 bush. of Indian corn he exchanged for salt, wagonage, etc. at 1s. 6d. | 75 | 0 | 0 |
| The remaining 500 bush. of wheat were disposed of thus: 200 to an army contractor at 4s. in goods, 30 for 30 gals. of whiskey, 60 to the overseer as part of his wages, the remainder for weaving, building, etc., at 4s. per bush. | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| The tobacco was sold to a merchant for half goods and half cash at 14s. 3d. per 100 lbs. | 142 | 10 | 0 |
| The two colts are worth | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| | £536 | 4 | 0 |

(N.B. On the one hand, the family were supplied with some provisions from another plantation, and on the other hand all the spinning for Negroes' linen, all the shoemaking, and all the tailors', carpenters' and coopers' work on the farm are done by the Negroes not employed.)

Articles received of the merchants in addition to the cash for produce sold to them (Dec. 1793, No. 1, 2, and 3).

| | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| For Negroes | 1 piece deep blue twilled half thick: 4¾ yds. at 4s. 3d. | 1 | 0 | 2¼ |
| | 1 do. drab, 19½ yds. at 4s. 3d. | 4 | 1 | 3 |
| | 1 do. brown, 24¼ at 4s. 2d. | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| | 1 do. drab hunters cloth, 32¼ at 5s. 2d. | 8 | 5 | 4 |
| | 1 do. deep blue knapp, 6¾ at 5s. | 1 | 13 | 9 |
| 4 yds. linen for bags, 1s. 8d. | | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| 1 black silk handkerchief | | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| 10 yards white flannel, 4s. | | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 muslin handkerchiefs, 7s. 8d. | | 0 | 14 | 0 |
| 5½ yds. American printed chintz, 10s. | | 2 | 15 | 0 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6 yds. ditto, 9*s*. | 2 | 14 | 0 |
| 6 yds. bottle-green twilled corduroy, 10*s*. | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 4 pocket handkerchiefs, 3*s*. 9*d*. | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| silk and twist for corduroy | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 3 dozen buttons at 1*s*. | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 4 lbs. best Hyson tea, 15*s*. | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 6 pieces of kendal cotton (for Negroes) 20 yds. each at 3*s*. 9*d*. | 22 | 10 | 0 |
| 6 yds. Marseilles quilting at 16*s*. | 4 | 16 | 0 |
| 100 lbs. Muscovado sugar at 2*s*. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| 50 lbs. coffee at 3*s*. | 7 | 10 | 8 |
| 35 lbs. loaf sugar at 3*s*. | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| 6¾ yds. fast, dark-colored India chintz at 7*s*. | 2 | 10 | 7½ |
| 10 yds. black durant, 3*s*. 2*d*. | 1 | 11 | 8 |
| 4 yards plain lawn, 8*s*. 4*d*. | 1 | 13 | 4 |
| 2 oz. thread No. 22, 3*s*. 8*d*. | 0 | 7 | 4 |
| 2 paper of pins, 1*s*. 3*d*. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| 2 do., 1*s*. | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 6 yds. black ribbon, 1*s*. 6*d*. | 0 | 9 | 0 |
| 7 needles | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 2 dozen flints, 1*s*. | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 1 Dutch blanket for a Negro | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| | £94 | 9 | 8¾ |
| To this account must be added, 3 pieces of linen at a dollar per yard, $75; 2 suits of clothes for Colonel Bullet; and articles of female apparel make, with the clothes (£30 worth) had from the contractors. | 52 | 10 | 0 |
| | £146 | 19 | 8¾ |

# IX

## *Some Account of Kentucky*

THE boundaries of Kentucky are, from the northeast to the southeast corner, the Big Sandy River and the top of Cumberland Mountain,* by which it is separated from Virginia; from the southeast to the southwest corner, a line of latitude 36° 30′ north, which divides it from the southwestern territory proposed to be called the State of Franklin; from the southwestern to the northwestern corner, the river Ohio, which runs between Kentucky and the northwestern territory.

It is said to lie between 36°30′ and 39°30′ north latitude; and between 8°and 15° west longitude.

From an observation of Colonel Marshall's, it appears that his house, which is almost in the center of the state, is 38° 25′ north.

The civil divisions of the state are perpetually varying with the increase of population; a circumstance which should render persons at a distance exceedingly cautious how they purchase land upon the idea of it belonging to a county which at present may be recommended by its soil, situation, or improvements. Indeed it is madness to purchase land without seeing it.

The present counties are:

First, between the Ohio and the Licking River, (1) Mason County; (2) a new one just laid off.

Second, between Licking and the Kentucky rivers, (3) Scott, (4) Bourbon, (5) Clark, (6) Woodford, (7) Fayette.

Third, between Kentucky and Salt rivers, (8) Shelby, (9) Jefferson, (10) Nelson, (11) Washington, (12) Mercer.

Fourth, between Salt River and Green River, (13) Harding.

Fifth, south of Green River, (14) Logan, (15) Green.

Sixth, south of Kentucky, on the eastern side, (16) Madison, (17) Lincoln.

The most thickly settled parts of the state are: Fayette County, which is nearly centrical and contains the greatest body of first-rate

*Though this is not the dividing ridge of the eastern and western waters, yet it is the highest of the Allegheny Mountains in this latitude.

land: Mercer County; the southern end of Woodford County; Bourbon County; the neighborhood of Washington; the neighborhood of Bardstown in Nelson County; and Bear Grass Creek in Jefferson County. The settlements, however, are extending all over the state, and many persons are directing their attention to Green River, as an advantageous part of the country, on account of navigation, on account of its being well adapted to the growth of cotton, and [on] account of its barrens or natural meadows, affording good means of raising large stocks of cattle.

No census of the inhabitants of Kentucky have been taken since the year 1791: there were at that time

| | |
|---|---|
| Free white males of 16 years old and upwards | 15,154 |
| Free white males under 16 years old | 17,057 |
| Free white females | 28,922 |
| Other free persons | 114 |
| Slaves | 12,430 |
| Total | 73,677 |

Most persons are of opinion that there are at present 100,000 souls in Kentucky; but in order to ascertain the point with some degree of accuracy, I sent some queries to the clerks of various county courts, requesting them to give me information respecting the number of tithables in their several districts, and upon other particulars entered in their books.

Thitherto, however, I have been unsuccessful in my inquiries, except in cases where I had an opportunity of making personal application. The queries which I sent and the answers which I obtained are as follows:

*Queries proposed to the clerks of the counties.* 1. The number of families, and the tithables* in the county? 2. Their increase since the census was taken by the general government? 3. The number of ministers licensed to marry, and the denomination to which they belong? 4. The number of marriages celebrated in each of the three last years? 5. The county levy in each of the three last years, and whether employed principally in incidental or in standing expenses? 6. The amount of the poor rates in the same period? 7. What number of poor have been relieved in the county and of what description of people are they, old settlers or disabled men, aged persons and orphans, or persons in the prime of life? 8. How many men

*Tithables are free males of 16 years old and upwards and slaves of both sexes of the same age.

have been imprisoned in each of the last years, on account of some criminal accusation? 9. How many for debt? 10. How many have been apprehended on the vagabond act? 11. How many licensed taverns are there in the county? 12. How many billiard tables? 13. Can Mr.....say how many mills there are?

*Answers, respecting Fayette County*

To 1. There is no record of the *families*, but in the year 1791 there were 4,574 tithables; 1792, 4,379; 1793, 4,223. Previous to taking the numbers in 1793, about one-seventh of the county was added to a part of Bourbon, in order to form the new county of Clark.

To 2. I cannot tell the increase or decrease better than the foregoing statement shows.

To 3. Many of the ministers of religion were authorized to marry, previous to the formation of the Commonwealth, by courts in various parts of Virginia, which prevents a positive answer, but my acquaintance will justify a supposition, in which I am not far wrong: Presbyterian, 2, Methodist, 3, Baptist, 6.

To 4. In the year 1791, 158 licenses were issued for marriages; 1792, 165; 1793, 124. None can be married without a license (slaves, indeed, seldom observe any ceremony).

To 5. The levy in the county in 1791 was 1*s.* 3*d.*; 1792, 1*s.* 6*d.*; 1793, 1*s.* 3*d.*—here and in other parts of these sheets I have retained the Virginian currency—for every tithable. These levies have been appropriated to repair of the courthouse and jail, to the prosecution and support of criminals, to the cleansing of the jail and courthouse, to books of record, to the sheriff, clerk, etc., for services of a public nature where no particular fee is allowed; though the repairs of the jail, the purchasing of locks and irons of various kinds, have occasioned the greatest sums.

To 6 and 7. The questions relative to the poor can only be answered with certainty by the overseers, or their clerks. I believe that their levy has been 6*d.* or 8*d.* per tithable annually; and the poor relieved are objects of charity thrown accidentally into the county, not old settlers, not idlers, some wounded, decrepit, or debauched from the old army levies, that cannot get away; some distressed in consequence of Indian depredations; and I believe very few who receive a regular annual supply. Orphans are, by order of the court, bound apprentices where the income of the estate is insufficient for their support. They are never bound as servants, but must always be instructed in a trade, by which they may gain a livelihood.

To 8. On criminal accusations there were three committed to jail in 1791, seven in 1792, and eleven in 1793. Were you to ask the cause of this rapid increase of criminal prosecutions in the county, I would give you for reasons the discharge of the levies that composed General St. Clair's army in 1791—a great part of whom came through Kentucky, and a great many never went farther—together with the discovery of a party who were accused of horse stealing.

To 9. Those who have been imprisoned for debt I cannot ascertain the number of, as our laws permit the body to be released on the delivery of property, and many are arrested who release their bodies this way immediately. Some are confined a short time before their delivery of property can take place, and but very few suffer a length of imprisonment for debt.

To 10. I know of none apprehended and prosecuted as vagrants in Fayette County these three years past. The laws relative thereto are not strictly executed. I think there ought to have been several.

To 11. There are eleven licensed taverns in the county; the greatest part of these are in the township of.....

To 12. There are two billiard tables.

To 13. There are ten mills in the county, but it is not well situated for mills, it being on a part of the dividing ridge of the waters of Licking and Kentucky. There are three fulling mills in the county, and two others on the same side of the Kentucky River; there are eight sawmills.

LAW: TODD, Clerk.

*Answers, respecting Jefferson County*

To 1. 666 families, 1,179 tithables.

2. The marshal has not transmitted to the clerk of the county.

3. One licensed minister resident in this county of the Presbyterian denomination. Itinerants are almost without number, and of every denomination.

4. Marriages in each of the three last years from 28 to 40.

5. Levies from 15*d.* to 18*d.* per tithable, the greatest proportion of which are for standing expenses. A deposit is usually made for contingencies; otherwise the levies would not be so high.

6. No poor rates.

7. The only description of poor in the county are orphan children, and they are provided for by being bound apprentices;

males to handicraftsmen, and females to such persons as will teach them the ordinary occupations of housewifery.

8. Not more than three or four persons imprisoned in this county in the three last years, on criminal accusations, and I think in ten years there has not been more than two persons executed in Kentucky.

9. The number of imprisonments for debt I cannot ascertain, but they are very inconsiderable, within the last three years.

10. No vagrants.

11. About five or six licensed taverns in the county, which are supported principally by travelers.

12. There is one billiard table in the county.

13. There are eight mills.

STEPHEN ORMSBY

The return in 1791, I find, was:

| | |
|---|---|
| Free white males, 16 years and upwards | 1,089 |
| Free white do., under 16 | 1,077 |
| White females | 1,813 |
| Other free persons | 5 |
| Slaves | 923 |
| Total | 4,907 |

*Answers, respecting Nelson County*

To 1. In 1791, the tithables were 2,450. After the enumeration was made, Washington was taken off, so that there were in the county of Nelson in 1792 only 2,278. After this, Harding and Green counties were formed out of Nelson, so that in 1793 there were in the county only 1,766.

2. The clerk has no census for the whole of this county in 1791, upon the plan ordered by the general government; but the return for a *part* of the county, made by Mr. M'Dowell, was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Free white males of 16 and upwards | 1,966 |
| Free white males under 16 years | 2,195 |
| White females | 3,749 |
| Other free persons | 32 |
| Slaves | 1,075 |
| Total | 9,017 |

3. There were only three who were licensed by the Governor of Kentucky but others perform the ceremony of marriage who were licensed by the government of Virginia before the separation. The three are Baptists; the others (who may be about twelve) are principally Presbyterians; there is one Roman Catholic.

4. In 1791 there were 110 marriage licenses granted. In 1792, 120, in 1793, 62. The marriages in the counties which were formed out of Nelson formed a considerable proportion of the whole.

5. In 1791 the expenses were 10,610 lbs. of tobacco, but 3000 lbs. were for extra expenses. The deposit was 18,790 lbs. The proportion of every tithable was 12 lbs. of tobacco, or 1*s.* 6*d.* In 1792 the expenses were £41 16*s.* 3*d.*, the deposition £126 3*s.* 3*d.*; every tithable paid 1*s.* 6*d.* In the year 1793, the expenses were £65 13*s.* 9*d.*, the deposition, £66 15*s.* 3*d.*; every tithable paid 1*s.* 6*d.* The expenses of the poor are included in the above. There are never more than two or three in the county at the same time. One of those who have been lately supported was a man who was disabled at New Orleans, and cost the county £30 or £40 a year; another was frostbitten in coming through the Wilderness.

8. In the four last years, seven have been brought before the court of inquiry (which is composed of the justices of the county) and only [one] of them has been forwarded to the Court of Oyer and Terminer, and he was acquitted. Two of the seven were Negroes and were whipped. There is no jury in the court of inquiry except in the cases of Negroes, and they, only, can be found guilty in this court. This jury is composed of white men, but it is said that their bias is in general in favor of the Negroes.

9. The clerk knows of no more than one since he has been in office, who has remained in prison more than two or three hours for debt.

10. Two; one of them was a puppet showman, who was cleared; the other was a man who had no visible means of subsistence, but the justice who caused him to be apprehended at length gave his own security for the good behavior of [the] prisoner. There have been few apprehended for breaking the peace.

11. Three, which are all in Bardstown, and are supported by travelers. There are many persons who venture to entertain travelers without a license.

12. No billiard tables.

## Of the Manufactures of Kentucky

Kentucky is at present too much in a state of infancy for manufactures to have arrived at any considerable growth. It is probable, however, that no part of the United States would afford greater encouragement to the mechanics and the manufacturers of useful articles of almost every description. The country furnishes the raw materials for various fabrics: and its distance from the sea, by advancing the price of European commodities, affords an important advantage to the home manufacturer.

First. LEATHER, and the articles made of it are manufactured in Kentucky. Shoes and boots, harnesses, saddlery, and leather breeches are made at Lexington and other parts of the state.

There are in the town of Lexington tanyards, at which are probably tanned 2,000 hides in a year. There are about ten hands employed in them who curry as well as tan the leather.

Journeymen are boarded and have from $8 to $10 a month (i.e., 36*s.* to 54*s.* sterling). Youths are taken as apprentices for four or five years without any premium, and are clothed as well as boarded by their masters.

Rawhides, if wet, sell at 3*d.* per lb.; if dry, 6*d.* Calfskins, if wet, 6*d.*, if dry, 1*s.* The skins of young, half-grown cattle bear a medium price, between the two.

Hogs' skins from 9*d.* to 3*s.* each* Oak bark, of all kinds, 15*s.* per cord (which is a bundle eight feet long, four feet high, and four feet wide). Lime, delivered in town, 9*d.* before it is slaked and 6*d.* when it is slaked. Sole leather sells at 1*s.* 6*d.* a pound, leather curried for coarse, upper leather, 2*s.* 6*d.* Calfskins are sold by the hand at from 9*s.* to 16*s.* each. What may be called a good calfskin, 15*s.* Hog saddle seat, 2*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* a seat; harness leather, 2*s.*

A tanner will dress a skin for the half of it. If it be curried, he has 2*s.* 6*d.* for currying the half.

(Compare the prices at Lancaster in Pennsylvania, viz. 4¾*d.* for hides; wages and board 42*s.* per month; sole leather 10¾*d.*; upper leather 1*s.* 6*d.*—these are the sterling prices. In Chester—Great Britain—rawhides are 4*d.*, raw calfskins 6*d.* to 8*d.*, bark 10*d.* for 120 lbs., wages 9*s.* a week, excise 1½*d.* per lb., sole leather 17½*d.*, curried calfskins 1*s.* 9½*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*)

There are probably about three hands constantly employed in

*It will be remembered that I make use of the Virginia money.

Lexington making shoes. But there are others who work at one season of the year in town and at another in the country.

Journeymen shoemakers are wanted. The hands employed there at present are but indifferent ones, and their charges are high. If you find the leather, you may have a pair of boots made for from 20*s.* to 22*s.*; and shoes from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* 9*d.*, which the master shoemakers say is the price that they pay their journeymen who board themselves. The price of shoe thread is 3*s.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* per lb.; wax, 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb. The leather which is made in the state is chiefly used, but it is said to be more advantageous to bring leather from Philadelphia.

Boots are from $8 to $10 a pair; shoes of calfskin are 13*s.* to 14*s.*; coarse shoes, 11*s.* to 12*s.*; but country shoemakers bring them into town and sell them at 8*s.* or 9*s.*; women's leather shoes are 9*s.* to 10*s.* 6*d.*; stuff shoes are sold cheapest in the stores.

In making saddles, harness, etc., about twelve hands are employed in the town of Lexington; but more are wanted. Journeymen are boarded, and have $12 a month, but the very best workmen will get as high as £5.

There are four master saddlers. They will take apprentices for four years and provide them with everything.

The leather of Kentucky is used, but the bits, stirrups, etc., are brought from the Atlantic states. The prices of the articles follow:

The best men's saddles used are with common stirrups, $20; a second sort with single flaps and no saddlecloth are $12; plainer ones may be had at $10. Women's saddles are from £4 10*s.* to £6, but there are no cloths to the lower-priced ones. Snaffle bridles, 7*s.*; half curbs with one rein, 9*s.*; whole curbs, with two reins, 12*s.*; whole curbs with plated buckles and bits, $8; saddle bags, without a lock, 28*s.*; collars of the common kind, 9*s.*; do., better ones, 12*s.*; backbands of an inch thick 16*d.*; if two-inch, double that money.

The manufactories of these articles are not confined to Lexington. There are tanyards and shoemakers at Harrodsburg, at Bardstown, and in the vicinity of the falls. There are 1600 or 1800 hides tanned at Bardstown every year.

Second. Manufactures of HEMP and FLAX are considerably attended to in the household way. Planters usually make their own cordage, and it is very common for all the linen which is used in the family to be made at home.

I have often heard it suggested by the inhabitants of Kentucky

that persons acquainted with the manufactories of Russia duck might exercise their skill there to considerable advantage.

Should vessels be ever fitted out from Kentucky, sailcloth and cordage will be furnished in the state and they may probably become profitable articles of exportation. No country can be better adapted than Kentucky to the growth of the raw materials. Hemp may be purchased there at 20*s*. a ton, whereas it will sell in Alexandria at 49*s*. or 50*s*.

Third. Manufactures of WOOL, and mixtures thereof with cotton and flax, are household manufactures increasing in importance. There are five or six fulling mills on the north side of Kentucky River, which are employed in finishing goods made of the wool, the growth of the country; whereas the few inhabitants who were there fifteen years ago were obliged to make their cloth out of the hair of the buffalo and their linen from the thread of nettles. I was told by a merchant at Lexington (Mr. Parker) that three years ago he brought out 100 pieces of woolen goods for the winter supply of his store: at present there is not a demand for one half of that quantity. Coarse goods are a drug in all the stores, and he is of the opinion that in a few years there will be no demand at all for them. Those manufactured in the country are of a much superior quality to those imported from Europe. Besides the coarse woolen cloths they manufacture linsey-woolsey, Negro cloth, coverlets, counterpanes, and stockings.

Fourth. Manufactures of COTTON and mixtures thereof with other materials are particularly attended to in Kentucky. The principal cotton goods made in this state are plain striped cottons for women's gowns and for men's summer coats; and it is not uncommon for them to unravel worn-out silk stockings, etc., and to work up the silk with the cotton in carding; the mixture is rather an improvement to the cotton. They make likewise jeans, counterpanes, hosiery, etc.

The usual method is to spin the cotton at home, by a man who makes it his business. They sometimes weave for a certain proportion of the manufactured article, in which case they have two yards out of three for their trouble.

Kentucky is very favorably situated for the produce of the raw materials. On the north side of the Kentucky River, it is, indeed, an uncertain crop, on account of the frost, but it grows very well in the southern parts of the state, and particularly near the falls, where

a degree of sandiness in the soil is very favorable to the production of this article. I have heard of 1000 lbs. being produced from an acre of land, encumbered as it was with the stumps of trees. The Cumberland country, however, is the best adapted to the growth of cotton, and it was thence that a company who were attempting to establish a manufactory at Danville meant to procure the raw materials. They were to have it in the seed at *6d.* per lb., which they reckon only to be equal in value to a quarter of a pound entirely free from the seed. Unfortunately, however, when a building was erected, when carding and spinning engines were procured, and a number of hands brought from Philadelphia, the funds of the company were exhausted, and the person who was employed to superintend the business died. How far the plan would have succeeded, it is impossible to determine. I don't think it likely that it would have been long in the power of the proprietors to confine a set of men, in the heart of so fine a country, to the walls of a factory. However, there can be no doubt but that a set of workmen who could purchase their own implements and a requisite quantity of cotton, would find the manufactory of that article unusually profitable. If it be worth the while of many persons to employ themselves in carding by the hand and spinning with a single spindle, surely the manufactory would be highly advantageous to a set of men who could card with an engine, spin upon a wheel with thirty spindles, and weave with the fly shuttle.

The dyeing branch of the cotton and woolen manufactories is executed in no great perfection. With respect to some colors, however, they succeed very well. The principal articles used are the various barks and roots which are the growth of the country, and indigo, which some planters raise and prepare in sufficient quantities to answer this purpose. Copperas is imported, notwithstanding that there are fine banks of it near Clarksville, opposite to the falls of Ohio.

Fifth. Manufactures of IRON are beginning to make their appearance in Kentucky. A furnace has lately been established at State Creek, a navigable branch of the Kentucky River. The ore is easily raised and remarkably rich. The proprietors know of none richer but what is used at one furnace in Maryland. A good hand will raise three ton in a day. Two hands can raise enough in a year to supply the works seven months. The situation at which they are carried on is, at present, a frontier.

Nothing at present is made but pig iron and castings, but they have it in contemplation to establish a forge and slitting mills. Both white men and Negroes are employed at the furnace. They have £3 a month, and upwards, according to the work they do, and boarded. The men who work at the castings are paid by the pieces and some get £10 a month. Wood in abundance can be had in the neighborhood. The cutting of it cost[s] 2*s.* a cord, the men being found in provisions, or 2*s.* 6*d.* a cord if they provide for themselves. The blast consumes the wood of 100 acres in a year, but the land in that part of the country is but indifferent; 1,000 acres may be purchased for £100.

Coals are found in the neighborhood, but they don't use them. Castings, such as stoves and boilers, sell at £40 the ton (2,240 lbs.). Bar iron will sell at the same. When the castings are brought to Lexington, they sell at 6½*d.* a pound.

Notwithstanding the inconveniencies attending a nail manufacture, when the iron is to [be] brought a distance of 700 miles, yet the enterprising spirit of the Kentuckians has not suffered even this object entirely to escape their attention. Accordingly, it has been carried to a small extent, but not so much with a view to the profitableness of such a concern, as for the sake of having in a store a regular supply of such kinds of nails as are adapted to the demands of the market. The nail-rods are brought from Hagerstown in Maryland, which is nearly 200 miles from Pittsburg. The price at which they sell in that town is £45 per ton (2,240 lbs.) in Pennsylvania money, which is equal to £27 sterling. The expense of carriage to Lexington must be a guinea per cwt.

Charcoal has been bought at an high price, probably at 4*d.* per bushel. Three hands are employed in the nail-manufactory at Lexington, and are steady at their work, showing no disposition to forsake it for the more common employment of cultivating the soil. They board themselves; but their tools, coals, etc., are found for them. They will get four dollars a week each, but one half of their wages is paid in merchandise. For each faggot weighing 56 lbs. the workman is expected to deliver 50 lbs. of nails from eightpenny nails upwards, and of sixpence halfpenny and all smaller nails, 45 lbs. are to be delivered.

The number of nails in the pound; the wages which the men have for making them, and the price at which they sell are as follows:

| Kind of Nails | Number in a lb. | Wages the Workmen have per lb. | The prices at which they sell s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20-penny | 55 | 4 pence | 1 | 8 |
| 12- | 65 | 4 | 1 | 8 |
| 10- | 70 or 75 | 4 | 1 | 8 |
| 8- | 85 | 4 | 1 | 10 |
| 6- | 130 | 6½ | 2 | 0 |
| 4- | 230 | 8 | 2 | 6 |
| 5- | 190 | 7½ | 2 | 3 |
| 20 floor brads | 55 | | | |
| 12 do. do. | 70 | | | |
| sprigs of different kinds | | 5*d.* per hundred 5 per case | | |

The erecting of a slitting mill in Kentucky will no doubt render a nail manufactory there more eligible than at present; for the high price of nails in that state is owing more to the charges of carriage than to any other circumstance, as appears from comparing these memorandums with those which I made at Lancaster in Pennsylvania. However, it cannot be expected that iron will become much cheaper in Kentucky, till the establishment of several works shall erect a competition among the ironmasters. Within ten miles of Lancaster, it is purchased at £32 8*s.* (Virginia money). The workmen are upon the same footing as at Lexington, but their wages are 1/5th less in general, though they are but about 1/10th less for eightpenny nails. Charcoal is $5 per 100 bushels, or 3½ per bush., and it might no doubt be made as low at Lexington. The price of nails, however, is very different at the two places. At Lancaster 20-penny nails sell for 1*s.* by retail, or 11*d.* by wholesale (Pennsylvania money) which is about 8¾*d.* and 9¾*d.* Virginia money—and eightpenny nails are one penny higher. The price, therefore, is but about half what it is at Lexington.

The circumstance from which this difference of price must result will appear from the following statement. I lb. of nail iron at £33 a ton, which it will cost by the time it reaches Lancaster . . . 3½*d.*

The wages for 1 lb. of 20-penny nails.....3¾

The charges of tools, workshop, charcoal and the profit of master.....3

Retail price of nails at Lancaster.....9¾*d.*

1 lb. of nail iron at £36 a ton, the price at Hagerstown from whence it is brought to Lexington.....3¾
Carriage at 1 guinea (28*s.* Virginia money) per cwt. of 1 lb. is.....3
Wages of workmen .....4
Charges of tools, workshop, charcoal, and profit of master .....9¼
Price of 1-lb. of 20-penny nails at Lexington.....1*s.* 8*d.*

From this statement it is evident that if the manufactory of nails be not exceedingly profitable at Lexington, it must be because it is not carried on to a sufficient extent to render particular attention to it an object.

Other branches of the iron manufactory which are carried on in Kentucky are for the most part only such as come within the province of a common blacksmith. There are indeed some plane bits, chisels, and screw augers made in the neighborhood of Lexington. There are in the town six master smiths, and, in all, fifteen hands constantly employed, nor is there any scarcity of hands; they are upon the whole sober, and pretty regular at their work. At present their wages are stationary; but they have been reduced since smiths began to establish themselves, nine years ago.

Journeymen have 50*s.* and £3 a month, together with their board.

Bar iron costs 11*d.* and 1*s.* the lb. It is brought from Pennsylvania, on the east side of the Allegheny Mountains. The price of an axe is 16*s.*; hoe, 8*s.* weighing about 3 lbs.; plow irons at 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb. (N.B. A bar-share plow, complete, weighs about 40 lbs., being not as large as they are in the old settlements.) Mattocks are 2*s.* a lb.

Shoeing a horse, all round, 9*s.*; but if you find your own shoes, they are put on for 2*s.* 8*d.*

But notwithstanding the high price of plows and horse shoeing, these articles are less expensive than they are in the eastern country; as a plow instead of requiring to be sharpened once a week requires it only once a year, and two sets of shoes will last a horse the twelve months, if he be not taken out of the country.

Under this head, I should mention that there are rifle-makers in this state, but the high price at which instruments of destruction sell is an indication that others would meet with sufficient encouragement, especially if they were acquainted with gunmaking in general, though the demand for small bores is very inconsiderable.

Sixth. Manufactures of COPPER, LEAD, TIN, BRASS, AND SILVER.

There is a coppersmith at Lexington, who makes stills and various articles for household purposes, but not to such an extent as to render a considerable importation unnecessary.

There is no manufactory of lead, except bullets, which every one makes for his own use. The lead which is used is brought partly down the river, partly through the Wilderness, on horseback, from the southern parts of Virginia, and partly from the Spanish settlements on the Mississippi, down that river and up the Ohio to the falls.

There are lead mines within six miles of Lexington, on north Elkhorn, but they have never yet been worked, though individuals have occasionally taken the ore for private use.

There is a tinman at Lexington, and he occasionally employs a journeyman, but there is not constant employ for two hands, as a considerable quantity of tin goods are brought from Pennsylvania.

The price of tin at Lexington is 13*d.* a sheet, but they bring it from Philadelphia, where it is bought at $20 a box containing 225 sheets.

The business of the Lexington tinman consists, not in making goods on his own account, but in making them for the merchants, who find the wire and tin, whilst he only finds tools, solder, and his workshop. The prices at which he works for them are as follows, but he is not paid in cash but in merchandise.

| | Sheets of Tin | Feet of Wire | Wages for Making | Price at Which Sold |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3-gallon kettle | 4 | 3¾ | 2*s.* 3*d.* | 7*s.* 6*d.* |
| 2-gallon kettle | 3 | 3¼ | 1 9 | 6 0 |
| 1-gallon kettle | 2 | 2¾ | 1 4 | 4 0 |
| watering pot | 5 | 7 | 3 6 | 12 0 |
| 5-quart milkpan | 2⅓ | 3½ | 1 6 | 4 9 |
| 2-quart milkpan | 1½ | 2¾ | 9 | 3 0 |
| 4-quart milkpan | | | | 4 6 |
| 3-quart milkpan | | | | 3 6 |
| lanterns | 3 | 4¼ | 2 0 | 6 0 |
| gallon coffeepot | 4 | 3½ | 2 6 | 7 6 |
| 2-quart coffeepot | 2 | 2¾ | 1 6 | 4 6 |
| strainer | 1½ | 2 | 9 | 2 6 |
| pound cannister | 2 | | 9 | 3 0 |
| half-pound cannister | 1½ | | 8 | 2 3 |

| | Sheets of Tin | Feet of Wire | Wages for Making | Price at Which Sold |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| collander | 2 | 5 | 1 6 | 4 6 |
| chamber pot | 2 | 2½ | 1 3 | 3 6 |
| pint cups per doz. | 6 | 13 | 3 0 | 9 0 |
| ½ pint cups per doz. | 3¾ | 10 | 2 6 | 6 0 |
| quart cups per doz. | 12 | 21 | 5 0 | £1 1 0 |
| pint cups per doz. | 6 | 15 | 4 0 | 12 0 |
| pepper boxes per doz. | 3 | | 4 6 | 9 0 |

There is a silversmith at Harrodsburg, who makes heavy articles at the price of the unwrought silver, which is 8*s*. 4*d*. per oz. The workmanship on light articles is more expensive. The making of half a dozen plain teaspoons weighing 2½ ounces is $2, which added to £1 1*s*. 10d., the value of the silver, makes the whole cost of the half dozen £1 10*s*. 10*d*. But there is no great demand for articles of this nature; many bring their plate with them, and many are as yet contented with pewter.

As for the brass manufactory, I know of nothing which will come under this description but the workshop of a clockmaker at Lexington. But as the sky of Kentucky is tolerably clear, and the greater part of the people live a rural life, there are but few who have any occasion to seek a substitute for the sun, by day, or for the cock crowing by night.

Seventh. Among the manufactures from WOOD, *cabinet wares* make the most conspicuous figure. Joiners are to be met with in all parts of the state, and there are ten hands regularly employed in this department in [the] town of Lexington. It is said there is no scarcity of workmen, but the terms on which they sell their goods prove there is room for others in the same line of business. Journeymen are boarded and have £4 per month, but the most common practice is for them to board themselves and to receive one-half of the price of the articles which they make. They can board themselves at 8*s*. per week.

The price of 1¼ in. walnut plank is 8*s*. per 100 ft.

A dining table, 3 ft. 9 by 4 ft. 6 is £3; a breakfast table, with two flaps and drawer, £3; a high, or double chest of drawers, without locks or mountings, £8; a low chest, with locks or mountings, is £4; a bedstead, without posts or sacking but made for sacking, $4; a bedstead made for cording, $3; a bedstead made for curtains and

sacking, with double rods, $8. The price of a desk and bookcase £12, and the mounting found by the purchaser. All these articles are made either of cherry or walnut.

Windsor chairs, painted green, are sold by a person whose business it is to make them, at 10*s*. a chair, and a good journeyman will get at this work 30*s*. a week.

Coopers' work and turning, millwork and wagon work are likewise attended to by the mechanics of Kentucky.

Boat building is no farther practiced, than the trade to New Orleans requires. But the freedom of navigation down the Mississippi will give employment to many hands in constructing vessels adapted probably to the ocean as well as to the river.

Eight. PAPER is manufactured at a paper mill in this state; but the specimens which I have seen of it don't recommend it, either on account of its excellence or cheapness.

Lexington can boast a good printing press from which issues a weekly newspaper, the annual acts of the legislature, and various occasional publications.

Ninth. GUNPOWDER and SALTPETER are manufactured in different parts of Kentucky, but there is no establishment of these articles of any magnitude.

Tenth. SALT is an article which has tended more, probably, than any other to facilitate the settlement of the country. The "licks," or salt springs, are numerous and though they are not equal in point of strength to the spring at Droitwich in England, yet carried on upon a proper plan they would afford an abundant supply to the western country. The most considerable works are at Mann's Lick and at Bullet's Lick, both in Jefferson County. Some little salt is made at the Blue Lick, between Limestone and Lexington, and at a few other places by people in the neighborhood of licks for their own use.

The best spring in Kentucky is at Druson's Lick, a few miles from the mouth of Kentucky River; but the want of settlements in its vicinity has hitherto rendered it unsafe to attempt the manufactory of salt in that place.

The works at Mann's Lick are carried on by various persons, but are not, at present, well managed by any one. Nests of kettles are scattered about at different places on the plain. There is one set which is upwards of a quarter of a mile from the water, which is

drawn up in buckets by a horse, as coal is drawn out of the pit, in England, and is then conveyed to the pans by means of spouts.

At most of the fires, however, the water is drawn up by a man; but instead of being assisted by a windlass, there is an horizontal pole, which turns upon a perpendicular one, between thirty and forty feet long, which is fixed within ground. The shape of this simple piece of machinery, is like a capital T. To one end of the horizontal pole is fastened the rope which suspends the bucket; on the other end is a weight which, being elevated as the bucket is let down, helps to counterbalance the weight of the water as the bucket rises again.

The wells are about thirty-three feet deep and the man who draws the water regularly raises two buckets of it in a minute. The buckets are rather larger than what are used at the common wells in England. The fires for evaporating the water are made in holes, twelve or fourteen feet long, and four or five feet wide, and over each fire are usually . . . round kettles, which are about . . . in diameter, one foot deep, and when full will hold twenty-four gallons. On each side of the fire is a large wooden trough into one of which the water from the well is conveyed, and into the other the brine, which is made by the evaporation of the water, is poured out of the kettles. After being some time in the trough, a sediment collects at the bottom and the water is rendered perfectly clear and transparent. The brine is then conveyed into another kettle, when upon being boiled again the salt falls to the bottom. It is then taken out with a bucket and placed in another trough, from which, when dry, it is carried off for use. The whole is sheltered by a shed. The country around the works is sufficiently covered with wood, but a great quantity is now cut down, and it is considered economical to carry the water upwards of a quarter of a mile to the wood than to bring the wood to the water. There are, I am told, some appearances of coal, but the little which has been seen is too indifferent to be fit for use.

According to the present construction of the fire places, three fires afford constant employment to a team of four oxen, a driver, and two woodchoppers. Three fires consume seven good loads in twenty-four hours. A load is less than a cord. The woodchoppers have half a dollar a day and their board. A team may be hired by the day at two dollars and a half, the driver finding provisions for himself and team—but he is paid in salt, at the current price.

Every three fires require two kettle tenders, who also draw their own water; but when the water is drawn up by a horse two men will tend five fires. Each of them has a guinea a week in cash, with his board, or 36*s*. in salt. But as they work both day and night, each of them is obliged to hire a hand to assist in drawing water through half the night, to whom he pays 1*s*. 6*d*. Three fires will make upon an average twelve bushels in twenty-four hours. There are in all 720 kettles at Mann's Lick, and it is common for the works to go on on Sundays.

Colonel More, who favored us with the particulars and is concerned in a considerable share of the works, thinks that the making of every bushel costs 5*s*. No experiment has ever been made to ascertain the strength of the water, but he supposes it to be double the strength of that at the Blue Lick, the proprietor of which informed me that one bushel of salt required 100 gallons of water.

The kettles which they make use of have till lately been brought from the eastern side of the Allegheny Mountain, and the cost of them by the time they reached the lick was 1*s*. per lb. More recently they have come from the neighborhood of Pittsburg, but they are now brought from the ironworks on the Kentucky and including carriage cost 7½*d*. per lb. The broad, shallow pans which are used in England are unknown here.

Eleventh. The manufacture of SUGAR has long been established in Kentucky; and at one time it promised to become an object of some importance to the country.

Two years ago, however, a most wonderful number of caterpillars made their appearance and committed such merciless depredations upon the leaves of the sugar trees as to leave scarcely a single one standing in some parts of the country. This evil was principally experienced on the southern side of the Kentucky River; and the country people still make a considerable quantity of brown sugar in the northern part of the state. The season of the year for making it is February and March, when instead of contenting themselves with a moderate auger-hole they chop a large notch in the tree, put a hollow stick in it, and place a wooden trough under it to receive the water. On a clear morning, when it runs freely, they attend the trees, collect the water together into a large boiler, where they evaporate it for some hours, purify it with eggs, and when it becomes sufficiently thick, take it off the fire and stir it till it becomes cold and settles into sugar. It sells from 7*d*. to 15*d*. the lb.

Attempts have been made to make molasses out of pumpkins and from green cornstalks. I have tasted pumpkin molasses, and the beer made from them, and thought both very good, but I know nothing of that which is extracted from cornstalks. Pumpkins are raised in Kentucky in abundance, at the most trifling expense, and among the Indian corn; and the produce of manufacturing sugar from this fruit is not so troublesome or laborious as to prevent large quantities being made at little cost.

Twelfth. Manufactures from FRUIT, GRAINS, AND SEEDS are rapidly increasing in Kentucky. Till very lately all the cider and a considerable portion of the spirits which are consumed in the state have been brought down the river from the settlements on the Monongahela, but the orchards are beginning to arrive at sufficient maturity to enable some individuals to make their own cider, and the time is not far distant when there cannot be any farther importation of peach brandy and whiskey. A brewery, likewise, has been established at Lexington, which during the last year furnished the army on the western side of the Ohio with considerable quantities of beer. The manufactory of wine has never been attempted; and the demands which more necessary objects have made upon the care and industry of the inhabitants have prevented their paying any attention to the cultivation of the vine.

The soil and climate are remarkably adapted to the cultivation of flax, so that the manufacture of *linseed oil* must hereafter become a most important and profitable branch of trade. There is at present an oil mill and I am told that it is at present in contemplation to erect another on Bear Grass Creek, over the falls of the Ohio.

Merchant mills for *flour* are numerous in the state, and contribute not a little towards answering the wants of the army, and supplying the market at New Orleans.

*Starch* is made in the house of every planter.

Thirteenth. The fitness of the soil of Kentucky to the growth of TOBACCO seems to point out snuff as an article of manufactory worthy of some attention.

There is a snuff mill in Bardstown, but the only hands employed in it are the proprietor and his boy. He makes none for exportation, as the capital vested in the trade will not admit of its being carried on upon so large a scale. But it has been calculated that a clear profit of fifty [per cent?] might be made of every hogshead of tobacco by converting it into snuff for the Philadelphia market.

Tobacco may be bought there for £4 10*s*. per hogshead in cash. The expense of transporting it to Philadelphia or to any American or European port would of course be much less in the manufactured than in the raw state, but the duty now paid at New Orleans to the Spanish government would on the other hand be increased in proportion to the increased value of the commodity.

Labor is likewise higher in Kentucky than at Philadelphia, but probably not to such a degree as to be of much importance in a snuff manufactory. A slave that is worth £70 in the lower parts of Virginia is worth £100 in Kentucky.

Fourteenth. The manufacture of EARTHENWARE is in a state of infancy in Kentucky, but it has succeeded perfectly as far as it has been attempted, and the price which the coarse articles [as] are made there will command is such as must afford encouragement to those who are acquainted with the manufacture of the more elegant fabrics. Nothing has hitherto been attempted but the coarse, red earthenware, glazed in the inside.

There are two men who carry on this business in Lexington, but one of them is said to be a man too much addicted to liquor to be attentive to his trade. The other man employs no hands but his own, but he would be willing to give to a journeyman one article in a dozen out of all he would make for turning merely; and he thinks such an one might get a dollar a day. The clay which he uses is five miles from town.

The price of

| | |
|---|---|
| gallon milkpots ..... | 9*d*. |
| 6-quart " ..... | 1*s*. 4*d*. |
| 3-gallon " ..... | 2*s*. |
| 1-gallon jug ..... | 2*s*. 6*d*. |
| ½-gallon " ..... | 1*s*. 6*d*. |
| quart " ..... | 1*s*. |
| Pint basin..... | 6*d*. |
| Pie or meat dishes, broad and shallow, 14 inches over, | 1*s*. 6*d*. |

His clay costs 7*s*. 6*d*. a load, drawn by four horses.

In many parts of Kentucky and particularly near the licks, I have observed a blue, tough clay which appears to me to resemble very much the clay which is used in England in the Queensware manufactory. If this be the case, I know not any undertaking which

would be more promising, as the advance upon goods of this kind is extravagant.

Fifteenth. HATS are made in Kentucky in a considerable quantity. There are twenty-four or twenty-five hands employed in Lexington; their wages are a dollar for making a raccoon or castor hat, which is a common day's work, but a man may make eight or nine to 9*s.* a week, without washing.

The price of materials is as follows: raccoon, 1*s.* to 2*s.* per lb. but in a week. The journeyman boards himself, and gives from 7*s.* 6*d.* it is not equally valuable with that which is procured in more northern climates; beaver, a dollar to 5*s.* 6*d.* per lb., which is higher than the Philadelphia price; wool, 2*s.* 6*d* to 3*s.*

A raccoon hat sells at from 25*s.* to 30 *s.*; a castor, made of raccoon and fox, and covered with beaver, 30*s.* to 36*s.*; a beaver made of beaver entirely, £3; an inferior beaver, 55*s.*; wool hats, 4*s.* 6*d.* to 9*s.*

Sixteenth. SOAP and CANDLES are manufactured all over Kentucky, but principally in the household way.

I have heard, since my return from Kentucky, that a gentleman is going thither from Hagerstown to establish a nail manufactory upon an extensive scale, and he has some thoughts of establishing a glass manufactory.

## OF THE COMMERCE OF KENTUCKY

Upon my arrival at Lexington, I took the liberty of stating to a gentleman peculiarly well informed upon this subject such inquiries as suggested themselves to me as important. It is a great satisfaction to me that he has been so obliging as to give so full an attention to them as to enable me to make up a valuable report. I will state my queries and Mr. Morton's answers, and will only add a few observations by way of notes.

*Commercial inquiries relative to Kentucky*

1. What articles are raised in the state of Kentucky, in a greater abundance than can be consumed there; and to what articles is it probable that it will be most advantageous to pay a particular attention to, in an improved state of commercial intercourse?
2. What have hitherto been the exports from this country?
3. To what parts of the world?
4. What articles cannot be advantageously raised on account of the soil or climate of the country?

5. What articles are the people of Kentucky as yet unable to raise on account of their state of society?
6. What foreign productions of art or nature are most in use?
7. What have been their imports, and from what countries?
8. The present and probable future communications with the sea, by land and by water, or by an union of both?
9. What sorts of conveyances by land and by water have been in most general use?
10. Of what size will vessels probably be used in navigating the Mississippi?
11. What obstructions or difficulties are there to the present introduction of them?
12. What course of communication from the sea will become the most eligible to Kentucky?
13. The obstacles to its becoming practicable and the kind of vessels which such a course will admit of?
14. The present expense of land and of water carriage, and the prospect there is of its being lessened?
15. The time which it takes?
16. The usual difference in the time which a voyage takes from New Orleans to Europe and from Jamaica to Europe?
17. The present political discouragements attending the trade from the country to New Orleans; the extent of those discouragements, and the probability of their continuance?
18. The number of merchants concerned in the trade, and of vessels annually employed?
19. Are there any merchants in Kentucky who import from Europe or from the West Indias?
20. In what manner do the navigators to New Orleans usually return; and have they any opportunity of rendering their journey homewards at all productive?
21. What number of merchants have become insolvent, and the causes of their misfortunes?
22. The bills of exchange most in use?
23. The course of exchange between this and the Atlantic states?
24. The most eligible method of transferring property from Europe?

*Mr. Morton's answers*

Answer to Query 1. I answer, were it asked what articles *can be*

"*raised in the state of Kentucky in a quantity*" greater than the domestic consumption, the question could be more readily answered, as there is scarcely a production of the earth, without the torrid zone, which might not be raised there in a far greater quantity than the demands of the inhabitants, were a sufficient spur given to their industry.

As to what articles it would be most advantageous to pay a particular attention to in an improved state of commerce, it will depend much on the foreign demand, and the future population of the country bordering upon the Mississippi; for it appears to me that tobacco and other bulky articles, which are the favorite productions of a southern clime, will ever be cultivated to a greater advantage in that country than in this, on account of their nearer vicinity to the sea, provided, however, the general fertility of the soil is equal to the representation given commonly. Pickled beef, pork, bacon, butter, cheese, tallow, hemp, flax, hogs' lard, flour, hempseed, flaxseed, beeswax, honey, and hops* (cotton and rice in the southern part of the state) and perhaps many other articles might, if sufficient encouragement were given to our citizens to cultivate them, be exported with advantage to both husbandman and merchant. I say nothing on the subject of wool as an export, under the idea that it will be more to the interest of the people to manufacture that article for home consumption, which I have no doubt will be the case from the great encouragement given for fulling mills and for the manufacture of most hats.

Horses and mules, as they might be raised at a very low expense in that fertile country, will in all probability be profitable objects for an island trade; for I conceive they might be driven to the Atlantic states or any other part of North America, east of the Allegheny Mountains, and sold on cheaper terms than they can be there raised. We have not as yet sufficient experience in the business of driving cattle to the eastern settlements, to judge of the expediency of the measure, but we are not without sufficient precedents in the trade of the Atlantic states as to give us hopes of the probability of such a traffic.

Note by H. T. (Mr. James M'Donnald, of Winchester, made the experiment some time since of bringing a drove of cattle through

*Hemp and flax might perhaps be exported to a greater advantage under some manufactory preparation, such as sail duck, cordage, coarse linens, etc., on account of the price of transportation. There is besides a quantity of linen, as well as woolen stockings, made in almost every family.

the Wilderness, and he found it sufficiently profitable to induce him to repeat the undertaking upon a more extensive scale.

He has this spring been purchasing a quantity of cattle and horses, with merchandise which he took out in the fall. He has one drove of horses and cattle sufficient to make four droves. He means to have them brought when the herbage in the Wilderness will be sufficient to support them.

He had it in contemplation to drive them to the extensive glades —or natural meadows—on the top of the Allegheny Mountains, where poor cattle might be fatted at a trifling expense, and rendered fit for the butchers at Philadelphia and Baltimore. The opening of a new projected road between Lexington and Winchester by which 130 miles will be cut off, will probably facilitate any such undertaking.)

It is well known that cattle have been driven from the back part of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia to Philadelphia, with considerable profit to the drovers—a distance greater than from the settled parts of this state to the same place. We know also that the interjacent country between those parts and Philadelphia, until you get within the Pennsylvania line, is to a very great degree, so far as relates to grass, a barren waste, or under the cultivation of planters whose known rule of agriculture is to carry havoc and devastation every spring to the herbage within the lines of their inclosures; or, should any of the inhabitants have a small meadow or pasture, it is not more than equal to his own very small stock. Of course a drove of beeves, in such a route, would be considerably reduced in weight; whilst on the other hand a drove sent from this country would immediately enter upon an extensive wild, abounding in the richest and most fruitful grass and other herbage, and after passing through which they would enter a country cultivated by farmers, where hay and pasturage might be procured in the greatest abundance and on the most reasonable terms. A drove of beeves, therefore, would through the latter route be delivered at the same point, at a much more inconsiderable expense and if there were any loss of weight, it would be much less than the former.

From the success of a few small essays in the cultivation of indigo in the state, I have no doubt but it might be raised to a very great profit, and as I know the average price of the article, by the quantity, in the commercial towns of the Union is in general a dollar per lb., it is therefore an object worthy the attention of agriculture—as

from the value of the commodity, it will bear the expense of transportation, either by land or by water, or by an union of both.

Answers to Queries 2 and 3. The exports from the country have hitherto been very inconsiderable as well on account of the infancy of the settlement, as the political obstructions which have checked the growth of our trade. The articles in general which have as yet been exported are tobacco, which sells at Lexington at two dollars per hundredweight and at Philadelphia at from three and three-quarters to five dollars; hemp; flour; salted beef and pork; bacon; an inconsiderable quantity of whiskey, barley, corn, butter and cheese, and hogs' lard, some of which articles have been received at New Orleans into the king's warehouses, some sold to merchants and other traders of that city. A considerable proportion of the tobacco is shipped for Philadelphia and Baltimore from thence and a small quantity to Europe. The market for the whiskey, bacon, etc., has chiefly been in the upper settlements on the Mississippi, the Illinois, and Wabash.

Whiskey sells tolerable well among the American settlers at the Natchez and other parts of West Florida and Louisiana, contiguous to the Mississippi; and as its taste is more agreeable and can be sold cheaper than , I have no doubt but it will shortly supplant the use of that spirit. From what I can learn, good beer would command a very ready and handsome market.

As this is perhaps one of the best countries in the world for the culture of barley, as well as hops, it appears to me that extensive beer and porter breweries might be here established to a very great advantage, as well with a view to domestic consumption as exportation.

Answer to Query 4. I know of none, except such as are peculiar to the tropics and other warm climates.

Answer to Query 5. Supposing it to allude more to articles of manufacture than of husbandry, and having but little knowledge of the former subject, I should feel a diffidence in hazarding those sentiments on the occasion to which the peculiar situation of our country has often directed my attention. The high price of labor, the uncertainty of procuring laborers, and their indolence when employed, circumstances which are the perpetual concomitants of a nation in our present state of society in population, are as yet barriers to many useful and valuable manufactures. But it is, notwithstanding, my opinion that many very profitable branches are as yet neglected which under sumptuary laws of the state and salutary reg-

ulations on the part of the manufacturer, might at this day be carried on to a very great public as well as private advantage.

How many poor widows and orphans are at this moment without bread in this land of plenty. (Note 2.) Were certain manufactures established which are at present practicable; poor children bound apprentices; a school established at each manufactory for the education of the said apprentices at certain hours in the day; a careful attention to their board and their lodging, as well as their morals; proper exercise for their health, etc.—the success of such a regulation, when applied to the more bulky manufactures (which would decidedly be wrought at home) and sold on cheaper terms than the importer could afford, is not to be questioned.

Note 2. H. T. (I cannot help thinking that Mr. Morton speaks rather too strongly in this passage, I have inquired in different places whether an orphan boy of eight years old, or upwards, could be obtained to serve in the house and be brought up in the knowledge and practice of agriculture, upon the usual condition of being well fed and clothed, of being instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and furnished with a new suit of clothes upon the expiration of the apprenticeship. But I have always been told that it was but now and then that such lads were to be met with, and then it was a standing rule that they should be instructed in some trade and not suffered to act in the capacity of servants. They might, no doubt, be all employed in a public manufactory, and those who scrupled to become proprietors of slaves might purchase— say for $100 or $120—boys of eight or ten years old, and retain them in servitude so long only after the usual term of apprenticeship for white children as would be sufficient to indemnify them for their first cost, and the interest of the money.)

Answer to Query 6. A variety of spices and other East and West India productions, and a very extensive quantity of British and other European manufactures.

Answer to Query 7. With respect to the *articles* of importation, for I cannot speak accurately as to the amount, they have in general been the same as in the Atlantic states, excepting salt, which is a production of our own, and as there is a considerable quantity of iron ore in the country and furnaces in blast, it is hoped we shall shortly be released from the necessity of importing that article.

Answer to Query 8. There are many articles, no doubt, which will be sent to market by land—for example, horses, mules, and beeves

on foot; some by an union of land and water—as indigo, provided the climate will suit the culture, probably hops, peltry, and furs. All articles of proportionably light carriage and which may be stowed in a moderate compass may be sent up by water as far as the highest navigable waters of the Ohio, and transported by land to the nearest navigable waters of the Susquehanna, Potomac, etc., and from thence conveyed to the seaports of the Atlantic states. But the productions of the country must generally be sent to a foreign market by the way of New Orleans. I have not a sufficient knowledge of the River Mobile and the ground lying between that river and the Tennessee to form an adequate judgment of the probable future communication between the waters.

Note 3. H. T. (Mr. Breckenridge informed me that he had conversed upon this subject with a person of veracity who had lived some time in the Indian country bordering on the Mobile and been accustomed to carry on a trade in furs between the country on the headwaters of that river and the Spanish settlements at its mouth. The method of transporting his peltry was always down the river in canoes and he brought his merchandise up the river in the same vessels, for the stream is remarkably gentle, and admits of a navigation both up and down, with the greatest ease and safety. The head waters of Mobile are within a few miles of the Tennessee, or Cherokee River, and the land between the two rivers is remarkably low and level, so that a canal might probably be made to unite the navigations. It is remarkable that the Tennessee, though it is so near to the Mississippi, runs for the space of, I think, two or three hundred miles in a course directly opposite. It is probable, therefore, that at some future day it may be found the most eligible mode of navigating from the sea to Kentucky to go up the Mobile, then cross over to the Tennessee, then go down to the river Ohio, and up the Ohio to the falls.)

Answer to Query 9. The most general conveyances of goods and property have been by wagons to Fort Pitt and other places of embarkation on the western waters, and from thence in flat-bottomed boats to Limestone, Louisville, etc., and from thence, again in wagons, to the interior part of the country.

Note 4. H. T. (The expense of carriage from Baltimore to Pittsburgh is about four dollars per hundredweight, and from Philadelphia a guinea or something more.

A flat-bottomed boat, twelve feet wide, costs at Pittsburgh at the rate of one dollar per foot, according to its length, so that a boat forty feet long—which will probably carry between seven and eight tons weight—costs forty dollars. There are usually persons willing to assist in working the boat for the sake of a passage, but three hands are all that are absolutely necessary, though more are desirable. From Limestone—the landing place—[it] is sixty miles to Lexington, and the expense of carriage is 7*s*. 6*d*. per cwt.)

Answer to Query 10. The largest sized vessel that will perhaps ever be used in ascending the Mississippi will be from ten to twenty tons. Vessels of almost every size may descend, with proper care.

Note 5. H. T. (The following particulars I obtained from Mr. Le Cassacque, a merchant at Louisville, who had been in the trade to New Orleans, and from Mr. Powers, an Englishman who has resided some months at the Spanish settlement called New Madrid.

The distances on the Mississippi, as taken by Captain Rossieu, by means of observations on the moon, allowing for the windings of the river:

| | |
|---|---|
| From Belviro (the mouth of the Mississippi) to New Orleans | 32 |
| Natchez | 100 |
| Walnut hills 40 / Arkansas 80 | 120 |
| New Madrid | 130 |
| Mouth of the Ohio conjectured to be | 20 |
| St. Louis, said to be from thence | 58 |
| The whole distance from the mouth of the Mississippi to St. Louis, the Spanish town on that river | 460 |

Boats frequently come up from New Orleans to the settlements on the Mississippi; but it is a tedious and expensive mode of carriage, according to the plan on which it is at present conducted.

A keel boat, carrying twenty tons weight up the river, requires twenty-two men, who have from fifty to eighty dollars apiece besides their provisions. It is a good voyage when they can go from New Orleans to St. Louis in three months. They sleep on shore every night, but the sun is so intense in the day, and the labor of rowing so fatiguing that they are obliged to work without even a

shirt on their backs, and are by the time they complete their voyage as copper colored as an Indian.

It generally takes a flat-bottomed boat twenty-five to forty days to go from the falls of the Ohio to New Orleans, but they do not proceed in the night and seldom make use of their oars.

A boat of about twenty-five tons' burden requires five men, who have thirty-five or forty dollars each, out of which they pay their expenses back. Keel boats provided with sails, to use as opportunity offers, go much quicker.

During my stay in Lexington, I had an opportunity of conversing with Mr. Irwin, a gentleman who has been several times at New Orleans and is well acquainted with the Mississippi River.

New Orleans, he says, is injudiciously situated; the river runs nearly in a westward direction to about the distance of sixty miles from the mouth so that the current of the gulf stream affords considerable advantage to vessels ascending. The river then makes a little bend, but it is not so great as to render the progress of the vessels twenty or twenty-five miles farther very difficult. They frequently go that far in forty-eight hours, whereas from this spot to New Orleans the river is so crooked that it frequently requires ten or twelve days to proceed the remaining fifteen or twenty miles to New Orleans. Some time ago attempts were made by Mr. Jefferson on the part of the United States to procure a tract of land for an American settlement on this eligible spot, but the Spaniards will never grant such a privilege on any terms. Nothing is to be done with them but by force.)

Answer to Query 11. The political obstructions are known to all, and the want of a few necessary ports or settlements at convenient distances apart on the rivers Ohio and Mississippi.

Note 6. H. T. (All articles sent down the river have lately paid 5 per cent on entering the ports, and 6 per cent on going out; but the Spaniards have no regular and uniform mode of procedure, so that the merchant who is so unfortunate as to have any concerns with them can never form any calculation what will be the profits of his commercial adventure. The duty has frequently been higher, and it is now said to be raised to 25 per cent.

The charge of freight from New Orleans to Philadelphia is four to five dollars per hhd. of tobacco, but now in consequence of the war it is as high as nine dollars or even as a dollar per cwt., besides the expense of insurance which is always carrying. But these are far

before what one might call the material charges on account of the selfish and arbitrary proceedings of the Spanish government. It is a part of their contracted policy that no vessels shall sail to any but Spanish ports.

In consideration, indeed, of the circumstances of the settlers of New Orleans, who were French subjects, the privilege was granted of trading to the French West India islands for the space of ten years; and in order to secure an adherance to their regulations, it is the practice of the captain of any vessel sailing from New Orleans to receive from the officer of that port a manifesto of his cargo, which is directed to the officer of the port to which he is bound, from whom he must receive a certificate of the satisfaction of the officers at New Orleans, attesting that the cargo was unshipped, according to the purport of the entry. Merchants, however, are not destitute of contrivances to evade this regulation; if they mean to take a cargo to Philadelphia, their manifest is made out for the Cape, at which they touch on their return, and produce it to the officer of the port, and after duly *feeing him,* receive from him a receipt for the cargo, of which he has not seen an atom.

Regulations so arbitrary as those of the Spanish government must ever be nugatory. Its own servants are its greatest enemies. All of them, from the highest to the lowest, are accessible to corruption, and have no idea of transacting business without it. Even justice must be purchased. A Spaniard must, in all cases, be bribed to do what is right. Another obstruction to trade created by the court of Spain is the high duty upon money carried from the country, amounting to a prohibition, but this is frequently evaded by the dexterity of the merchants.)

Answer to Query 12. As long as the present mode of navigating the Mississippi continues, it is uncertain which is the most eligible. I should rather suppose by Fort Pitt, or when the navigation of the Potomac, Susquehanna, etc., are improved in the manner expected, up those rivers, to the highest navigation, and from thence across the most convenient portages to the waters of the Ohio. But it appears to me that whenever we may have a regular trade from these waters to the ocean, our communication *from* must in general be the same as *to* the sea; else with our produce we shall export our men, in general never to return, at least in the characters of navigators, and in the end, which would not be far distant, destroy the means of sending off our superfluous produce.

So rich a trade as the western country must at some future day afford will no doubt give birth to a thousand improvements in the art of exporting her produce and bringing back the returns; for it must be obvious to every man who will reflect a moment that the present mode of exportation is nothing more than a temporary expedient—the mere *makeshift* of a day, a mode which cannot long exist, on account of the necessity of a regular and constant supply of hands to man the boats employed in the business, their want of skill in the art of conducting these boats and their ignorance of the difficult passages in the course of the voyage, and the high wages [which] must necessarily be given to navigators, for so long and distant a voyage, exposed to the shocks of various climates, without a certainty of employment at the port of debarkation, and with a *certainty* of rendering no mode of their return profitable.

The navigation of the western waters has been a fruitful source of many ingenious theories and conjectures. Amongst the variety which has been suggested, it is with the utmost diffidence that I hazzard the communication of the outlines of a system, the imperfect offspring of my own speculations. Should it afford a hint which may hereafter prove beneficial to the interests of the country, I shall feel a pride in having assisted you in an useful inquiry; but if on inspection it should be found the mere "fabric of a vision," I shall feel a sufficient consolation in a well-meant endeavor to serve and to amuse you. But to come to the subject, which will not be much longer than the preface, my plan of navigating would be as follows:

I would divide the rivers Ohio and Mississippi into different stages, at the distance of from three to four hundred miles apart; for every three flat-bottomed boats I would have a keel boat built for descending those waters and to go with sails or oars, or both. Each boat, in descending the current, should be manned with five hands. Let us suppose then, that the carrying business [is] to be conducted by one or more companies formed and associated, from the mouth of the Mississippi to the sources of its different branches. But to draw the business to a narrower compass, and to confine the subject of our present inquiry to our own country, let us suppose a shipment of produce to be made from some given point in Kentucky. Let then, for instance, a stage be established at Louisville, another at the mouth of the Ohio, another at the Chickasaw or Bluffs, another at the Natchez, and another at New Orleans. Let twenty men be stationed at each point, and for every four boats leaving the falls of the

Ohio, which will be manned by twenty hands, viz., five to each boat, let one keel boat of the above description, manned by the same number of hands, and loaded with such articles as will best defray the expense of transportation and answer the market of Kentucky, be dispatched up the river from New Orleans, so that with as little loss of time as possible the ascending may meet the descending boats at the different points proposed. Then, let the hands be changed; viz., those who have performed their parts of the voyage in ascending, to take the charge of the descending boats, and so vice versa from one end of the line to the other. Batteaux, or other vessels, calculated to ascend or descend the rivers might probably be constructed for the transportation and delivery of the produce of Kentucky and other branches of those rivers to Louisville, or the other beforementioned stages, and to bring back the required returns, built and managed upon such principles as are now employed in the transportation of the produce of the upper part of James River to Richmond.

The objects of the proposed system of navigation are

1st. A regular supply of watermen.

2nd. A reduction of the present prices of importation and exportation.

3rd. The safe delivery of the imports and exports.

4th. A nursery of handymen, who will always be ready to serve their country in times of public danger.

5th. The preservation of the very existence of the trade of the western country, upon principles of reciprocal advantage to the husbandman and merchant. That the first object would be obtained, is not to be doubted; for as no one out of the proposed watermen would have to undergo a voyage of more than four hundred miles, and as descending the current would, to hands acquainted with the navigation, be almost a scene of rest, and amply compensate for the labor of ascending, particularly when we consider that they will sometimes be assisted by their sails, and more especially as the change of climate would not be very perceptible in the course of that distance, through so many windings and turnings of the stream, there will not be the same danger of wearing out the constitutions of the hands by a long series of incessant fatigue and hardship and a too sudden transition from a temperate to a torrid climate. It would be a service too great by no means for the human constitution; a service to which a steady set of navigators would be very soon trained and familiarized. It therefore remains not to be demon-

strated that for moderate wages, compared with the importance of the service, boatmen might be employed by the month or year, to ply to and from their respective stages in manner above directed.

To prove the practicability of the second object, let us take a comparative view of the present and proposed modes of exportation and importation. And first of exporting: agreeable to the present, the cost of exporting twenty tons from the falls of Ohio to New Orleans would be as follows, viz.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A flat-bottomed boat, say | £25 | |
| 5 hands at $40 each | 60 | |
| rations, 5 hands for 30 days at 1s. per day each | 7 | 10 |
| Contingent expenses | 2 | 10 |
| | £95 | 0 |

Making cost amount to £4 15s. per ton.

Expense of the Plan Proposed

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A flat-bottomed boat | £25 | |
| 5 hands at $10 per month (supposing that to be the average length of a voyage from Louisville to New Orleans) | 15 | |
| Rations for do. | 7 | 10 |
| Contingent charges | 2 | 10 |
| | £40 | 0 |

I have taken no notice of the necessary deduction of the expense of one-fourth of the boats employed in the business of exportation, there being that proportion of keel boats allowed for the service and which will not be sunk in each voyage, nor have I suggested anything with respect to the practicability of building larger vessels for descending the river and sending them loaded instead of the flat-bottomed boats. Such vessels as would answer for a voyage by sea and which after performing the voyage to New Orleans might be employed in the farther service of the companies engaged in this extensive plan by being sent to Philadelphia, or any other port, with their cargo, or sold perhaps to a profit at New Orleans or other neighboring ports.

On the subject of importation, say from Philadelphia, I shall not

be found far from accuracy in the following calculation of expenses, viz.

| | |
|---|---|
| Wagonage of 20 tons to Fort Pitt at $5 per cwt. | £600 |
| Freight from Fort Pitt to Louisville at 3*s.* per cwt. | 60 |
| | £660 |

Making £32 15*s.* per ton.

From New Orleans to Louisville, agreeable to the proposed plan,

| | |
|---|---|
| Wages of 20 hands for 2½ months at £3 per month | £150 |
| Rations for do. 75 days at 1*s.* per day a hand | 75 |
| | £225 |

Making the cost of importing by way of New Orleans amount to £11 5*s.* per ton.

The common allowance of time for the performance of the above voyage is ninety days, when the same hands go through the whole fatigue; therefore I don't think a deduction of one-sixth of the time unreasonable, and agreeable to the proposed plan of relieving the hands at each of the several stages.

It needs not an argument to prove the third object, viz., "the safe delivery of the imports and exports," will also be accomplished to a much greater certainty by the proposed plan than by that which is in present practice, at least so far as relates to exports; for it must be obvious to the most superficial observer that a constant and daily exploration of the same track must make the navigator well acquainted with all the difficult passes, and of course better able to avoid them. Besides, an additional dexterity will be acquired in the management of the boats which it cannot be understood to be at once acquired by a raw and [in]experienced hand, who is perhaps taking his first and last trip. Add to all, constant and regular employment will insure better men, as well as better discipline, than the service of a month or two of an idle vagabond, who takes the oar in his hand, not caring to what course, *planter* or *sawyer*,* it may direct him. And such we know have been generally the characters employed to navigate our boats and produce through a long and dangerous route to an uncertain market, and to such we are indebted

*Stakes and trees which, having fixed themselves in the river, sometimes obstruct the passage of boats.

for the many wrecks and losses suffered on the hitherto fatal Mississippi.

In justice to those who deserve a better name, it must be acknowledged, that there have been a few truly valuable citizens taken down the river in the quality of boatsmen, but their engagements, like the others, were but for a single trip, the object being rather the gratification of a natural curiosity, or the pursuit of a more profitable country, than the professional occupation of navigators. But whatever the object, the effect has been the same. The better half of the goods, as well as the bad, will never return, from the innumerable and almost insurmountable obstacles which would oppose or discourage the attempt.

The fourth object of the proposed plan not coming under the view of the inquiries before us, I shall say nothing more on that head, and from what has been already advanced in the course of the foregoing sheets, I trust there will be no necessity of going further into the fifth object of our new speculation.

Answer to Query 13. The only obstacle to the practicability of the foregoing scheme of navigation is of a political nature, and the want of a few men of capital, enterprise, judgment, and character to engage in the business. The kind of vessels requisite for such a course of communication, or which such a course will admit of, is comprehended in the answer to the preceding inquiry.

Answer to Query 14. The present expense of land and water carriage is involved in the foregoing considerations. The only prospect of lessening on the eastern side of the Allegheny Mountains is by the improvement of the navigation of the Potomac and Susquehanna rivers, etc., and on this side, by an improvement of the mode of conducting the navigation of the western waters.

Answer to Query 15. This depends upon the nature of the business from Kentucky to the Atlantic states and to what particular part. If to Philadelphia or Baltimore (as I suppose to be the inquiry for the purpose of bringing forward a cargo of merchandise) it may, at particular seasons, be accomplished in sixty days. Twenty days of this time will be necessary for loaded wagons to come forward to Fort Pitt, or other places of embarkation, on the western waters, and the remaining forty days for the purpose of going forward, purchasing such merchandise, and descending the Ohio.

Answer to Query 16. I cannot with any precision answer this inquiry, being a stranger to the time it generally takes to perform a

voyage from either place to Europe; however, if I may venture an opinion, it is that the difference would be very inconsiderable.

Note 7. H. T. (Mr. Irwin informs me that a voyage from New Orleans to Europe takes about a month longer than it does from Philadelphia to Europe, and about fifteen days longer than a voyage from Jamaica.)

Answer to Query 17. As I have already observed, the present political discouragements attending the trade from this country to New Orleans, *as well* as to distant countries, are generally known to all; and when they may be removed is not in the power of man to tell.

Note 8. H. T. (There does not appear to be any probability of the obstructions to the free navigation of the Mississippi being removed, whilst Spain has a settlement on the river. But that cannot be long. If the Americans do not disturb them some European power will. I know for certain that New Orleans and Louisiana were the objects with the Court of St. James when the bubble was made about Nootka Sound. But they met with unexpected obstacles.)

Answer to Query 18. I know of but two that may be considered as merchants in the trade to New Orleans from Kentucky, who from their particular connections, in my opinion, have the most flattering prospects. There are many others who have become adventurers; but as I observed before, the uncertainty of that market, and the difficulty of returning, has generally prevented their embarking a second time in that business. It is with deference to those better informed that I hazard an opinion as to the number of flat-bottomed boats (for as yet we have no other) which annually descend the River Kentucky for New Orleans and other places on the Mississippi. I believe it to be twenty, of the burthen of twenty tons each, loaded with tobacco, hemp, pickled beef and pork, flour, hogs' lard, a small quantity of bacon, beeswax, biscuit, and whiskey. There are also perhaps the same number of boats annually descend[ing] the Ohio from the neighborhood of Pittsburgh, Louisville, and other places exclusive of those which descend the Cumberland, and .... rivers, for the Mississippi.

Note 9. H. T. (Mr. Morton refers to two American gentlemen who are viewed with a very jealous eye by the patriots of Kentucky. They are said to have become Spanish subjects, but it is the opinion of some that they are nothing more than agents, probably of the Spanish governor at New Orleans, with a considerable premium as

a commission. They pay no more, however, for the produce of the country than other persons who enjoy none of their peculiar advantages.)

Answer to Query 19. No; excepting two instances of a *few goods* having been imported from Europe. The merchandise brought to Kentucky is purchased at Philadelphia or Baltimore and New York, and a very inconsiderable quantity at Richmond and Alexandria.

Note 10. H. T. (The merchants or storekeepers of Kentucky take a journey to the Atlantic states twice a year; in the spring and fall, when they purchase such goods as will be wanted in the ensuing season, forward them in wagons to Pittsburgh, and take them down in flat-bottom boats to Limestone or Louisville. This appears to have been a very profitable trade, but the profits are said to be very much reduced by the multiplication of stores. A great proportion of business has been done upon credit, but I can hear of no complaints against the Kentucky merchants for remissness in fulfilling their engagements. Some purchase their goods at an advance of £110 in Pennsylvania money, per cent, on the sterling price, which is in fact no more than £26 per cent advance, and the merchants in Philadelphia show them their invoices from Europe. Others, however, depend entirely upon their own judgement, as to the real value of any article, and think it better to run the risk of falling into error themselves than of being led into it by false and fictitious invoices. The usual advance which the Lexington merchants make on the Philadelphia price is at present about 60 per cent, though it used to be higher. The most troublesome part of their business is the annual journey to Philadelphia—seven hundred miles. The same person seldom goes more than once a year, as there are usually two in partnership. As to any danger attending such a journey, it is very rarely that any large party has been attacked, and you may at any time be certain of a party sufficiently large by waiting a few days. They commonly travel from thirty to thirty-five miles a day. The Wilderness is now reduced to three days' journey, and in the Wilderness itself stations are so established as to prevent the necessity of sleeping in the woods a single night.)

Answer to Query 20. The route generally taken by those who return is by Philadelphia and Baltimore, except a few more inured to enterprise and hardship, who from the place of debarkation take the "trace," i.e., a small path in the woods, from the settlement of Natchez through the Creeks, Chickasaws, and other Indian nations,

and after pervading a wild of seven or eight hundred miles, arrive —if they escape the tomahawks—at the settlements on the Cumberland River near Nashville. The remaining part of this inquiry has been answered.

Answer to Query 21. None.

Answer to Query 22. Those drawn on Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other parts of the Atlantic states.

Note 11. H. T. (The money used in Kentucky as well as in other parts of the United States is principally Spanish. To supply the want of small money they cut the dollars into halves, the halves into quarters, the quarters into eighths, and the eighths into sixteenths. The currency is the same as in Virginia. The dollar—4*s.* 6*d.* sterling —is called 6*s.*; the French crown 6*s.* 7*d.*; and the English guinea is called 28*s.* Cash used to be very scarce in Kentucky. It is now, however, more plentiful, on account of the army. A good deal of business is, however, still done in the way of trade or barter. But there are some articles which will always command cash, though it is most common for farmers to take merchandise in payment for their produce. Indeed almost every kind of property is occasionally purchased with some other property. Clothing may be purchased with wheat or hemp, cows with sheep, a horse with cows, land with a horse. Labor, too, is often paid for in the same manner. Many good houses are built in the country, merely by the produce of the farm, without the intervention of a shilling. However, as I have already observed, this kind of traffic is by no means so prevalent as it used to be, and the opening of the Mississippi by affording free vent to the produce of the country, will occasion an equilibrium between Kentucky and other parts of the Union and cause money to bear the same proportion to other property here as it does elsewhere. And should not the Mississippi be opened, a regular trade in livestock will infallibly be established between the western and eastern country.)

Answer to Query 23. At par.

Answer to Query 24. It depends on the species of property and the object in view. If in specie, by placing it in the hands of a respectable mercantile character in Great Britain or Holland and drawing from Philadelphia, New York, or Baltimore at a short sight; such bills will always command the cash, and generally are from 6 to 9 per cent above par; and if in merchandise, such as would answer the market of Kentucky.

Note 12. H. T. (The stores in Kentucky, and I believe through America, contain almost every necessary article; so that a person who wishes to engage in a mercantile undertaking can scarcely fail of bringing salable articles. The great difficulty must be to proportion the various articles properly. I should suppose that those who know how to lay in goods for a considerable shop in an English village cannot materially err in laying in a stock for a Kentucky store. There must be something adapted to the case of persons of all descriptions; but the greater part of the articles should be such as are adapted to plain country people. There are but few who use the best superfine broadcloth, and there will, of course, be no great demand for such articles as are manufactured to a considerable extent in the household way.

Groceries are said to be articles of a certain sale.

I have mentioned the charges of carriage from Philadelphia and Baltimore to Kentucky. By considering these with the freight and insurance between England and America, the duties to be paid, and the prices of articles in Kentucky, any one will be enabled to judge what it would be worth his while to bring for sale.)

(I can get no more transcribed before I leave town.)

(Philadelphia, May 1st, 1794)

# X

## *Answers to the Printed Queries, Adapted to the State of Kentucky and Particularly to the County of Fayette, and Lexington, the County Town, when they Relate to the Prices of Provisions and Other Circumstances of a Private Nature*

(Some of the answers were stated from personal observation, others from incidental information, and many from communications with which I have been favored by Judge Cobourn, Mr. Parker, and Mr. Gregor, merchants in Lexington, and Mr. Namearra, an Englishman but now an inhabitant of Lexington. Where they differ, with respect to the price of provisions, I shall give all their answers. The money mentioned is Virginia currency.)

THERE is no regular weekly market in Lexington, as there is in the market towns in England. Butchers reside in the town and are always supplied with fresh meat; and the country people daily bring in vegetables and dispose of them to storekeepers, or to private persons. Those who use fresh meat frequently buy it from day to day.

The variety is as great as in the generality of old countries, except sea fish. Fish from the rivers is frequently, but not periodically, brought to town. Lamb and veal are not, perhaps, so often to be met with as in countries where it is troublesome and expensive to raise stock; even mutton, after being two months in Kentucky, I met with at only one house. But I was assured it could always be had at Lexington at a moderate price. But the Americans, and particularly the Virginians, are remarkably fond of pork and bacon, which is every day an indispensable dish. Beef is likewise much used, except in the summer, but it is often salted.

Many springs fail in the months of July and August, but wells of never-failing springs are to be dug in any tract of land. The springs, too, yearly become more numerous. When Lexington was first inhabited, there was but one spring. There are now several which rise in the town, and form a stream strong enough to turn a mill. The water is very good, but is somewhat impregnated with limestone, but not so strongly as in the valley between the Blue Ridge.

# XI

## *Copy of a Letter from Reverend H. Toulmin to Mr. James Leigh, Winchester, Virginia, May 19, 1794*

*My Dear Friend*

As you don't see me, it is right that I should take every opportunity of informing you what I have seen, and what I think. When you learn that an embargo[1] exists and has for some time existed in all the American ports to prevent the further progress of the depredations which have been committed on our shipping and that the most vigorous measures will be pursued if an indemnification cannot be attained without them, you will not wonder at not seeing me according to our original intention. I have in part prepared such an account of the results of my inquiries as I thought would afford the best satisfaction, and have put them in the way of being conveyed by the first opportunity.

As to America in general, it answers my expectations as to the mean points. There is in most of the states a perfect and equal enjoyment of *religious* rights. There is in all of them the highest degree of civil liberty. This is a sufficient recommendation of the country to anyone who feels the chain and pants for freedom. But were the liberty of England equal to that of America, still, though it might have no allurements to the opulent, it would afford inducements sufficient to the industrious poor and to men of small property. It is a new country. It is not overstocked with inhabitants. Men do not stand in one another's way. Everyone who will exert himself is sure of encouragement, and though you and I should not be able to improve our circumstances by a removal to America, yet there is no question but that we put our children into a situation where with common industry they cannot fail of obtaining a com-

[1]The embargo enacted March 26, 1794, was for thirty days; on April 18, 1794, it was extended for another thirty days. (M. T.)

petency. I mention these things (similar perhaps to what I have mentioned before) because I wish to fix your attention to the true motives for removing to America. For want of regarding these considerations sufficiently and from thinking too much on other motives which apply only to some particular situations or which do not apply at all, there always have been and there always will be persons whose sanguine expectations end in disappointment and disgust. They complain of a want of beauty in the face of the country; of the heat of the summers and the cold of the winters; of the difficulty of procuring servants and the uncertainty of keeping them when they are procured; of the prevalence of flies and frogs; of the irreligion, or the bigotry, of the people; and above all of the dearness of European commodities, an evil which they necessarily feel more on their first settling (when a disproportionate quantity of family articles must be bought) than at any future period—and this evil is not counterbalanced by the cheapness of provisions in these parts, for in almost all the seaports provisions, lodgings, house rent, board, tavern rates, etc., are high. But still allowing to all these objections their full force, I maintain that America is the country for the Sons of Freedom, for poor men, and for the middle class with large families.

What part of America is to be preferred is a more dubious question. It depends altogether upon a man's views and habits and qualifications. If you wish to canvass as freely the measures of the American government as you formerly did those of the British government, you will not do well to settle amongst the Pennsylvanians. If you must drink a bottle of wine with every meal, or would wish to be traveling every now and then from one state to another, you will be imprudent in going to Kentucky. However, go to any seaport and you will soon think yourself able to decide. At New York you will soon find that no country is to be compared with the Mohawk River. At Philadelphia, you will think yourself mad to imagine that anything can be good out of Pennsylvania. You will suspect that you may as well go to the grave as to the banks of the Ohio. At Alexandria you will form high ideas of the valley on the Shenandoah, and in that valley you will hear everyone speaking of the excellence of Kentucky. For my own part I know not what to think, or what to determine upon. I am happy in being forced to determine for none but myself. I found the price of land too high in all the valuable settled parts of eastern America, for it to be within the

reach of a man who might have no more than £150 or £200 on his landing; and I found that the most fertile spots were too much encumbered with Germans for a man to hope for rational society proportionate to the population. The Shenandoah Valley is perhaps the least objectionable on this head, but here the Germans are increasing.

I went to Kentucky. I wondered at the misrepresentation of the Philadelphians, and the credulity of the Europeans. The luxuriance of the soil exceeds everything to be met with in eastern America, whilst it is a stranger to the cold winters and the sickly falls of the Genesee country. The high lands of Kentucky seem to be a collection of the river bottoms of the rest of America. The produce of an acre is double that of the Shenandoah Valley, and you can send it to market for less money. Lancaster County has been the most flourishing in Pennsylvania. It costs a dollar per barrel (196 pounds) to send flour from Lancaster to Philadelphia. They send it for the same to New Orleans, a better port than Philadelphia for the West India markets. But the advantages to be realized from this port cannot be realized whilst it is in the hands of the Spaniards. Circumstances, however, justify me in saying it cannot long remain in their hands. If the Americans have it not, the French or the British will. At present, however, the cultivators of the earth do not want a recompense. In consequence of the demand of the country for spirits distilled from grain, the demands of the army, of immigrants, of the Spanish settlements on the Mississippi, etc., the farmers are in a thriving way. The merchants make money fast and with reputation. Their custom is thought much of at Philadelphia. No country affords better encouragement to mechanics of every description; their wages are handsome and provision low.

But it is said European goods are high. *Answer.* Most farmers manufacture. However, the advance is not very much above what it is two hundred or three hundred miles from Philadelphia. At Winchester, eighty miles from a seaport, the advance upon the English cost is £63 per cent. At Kentucky, it is but £100 per cent. On groceries and earthenware it is higher; but these must be produced in the country.

Again, it is said, labor is extravagant. This is of no importance to a man who depends upon the labor of his own family. Slave labor, however (maintenance as well as first cost being considered), is no higher than in Pennsylvania, and the man who objects to slavery

may give freedom to his slave when he has served long enough to indemnify him for the price he paid for him. There is in a great proportion of the people a disposition to abolish slavery, and it is ridiculous to say that the heat of the climate will not admit of the abolition; as multitudes of persons have always cultivated their lands without the assistance of slaves. The heat is, in fact, no greater than it is in Pennsylvania. But it may continue more hours in the day. The winters are not so severe as to require the long and laborious preparation for them that they do in Pennsylvania.

Thirdly, it is objected that the land bears a price above its value. *Answer.* The universal prejudices against this country in the seaports, where it is not really known, and where the speculators in land are generally found, render this idea very improbable. The fact is that land in Kentucky has had a regular advance; a circumstance which proves that the value stamped upon it is not artificial. At present land which will produce with very indifferent cultivation from thirty to thirty-five bushels of wheat per statute acre (though encumbered with stumps) may be had in the settled and safe parts at from 7*s.* 6*d.* (sterling) to 1 guinea per statute acre—a price at which, I believe, much inferior land cannot be purchased without going thirty or forty miles from the habitations of men. In Kentucky, at this distance from the settlements, it may be had for half a dollar (2*s.* 3*d.*) or less, per acre, in large bodies; and such land might be rendered perfectly safe and doubled in value, by laying off lots of one hundred acres in a thousand, for any people of the country who chose to settle upon them.

Fourthly, another objection to the country is its situation with regard to the Indians. So strangely ignorant are the people of the Atlantic states respecting the country on the western waters, that it has even been said that except within a few miles of Lexington, the state is, in general, subject to the incursions of the Indians. Everyone, however, who has lately been in the state of Kentucky knows this to be an idea totally unfounded. I myself traveled in one direction a distance of nearly two hundred miles without being in any part which is not now considered as perfectly secure from the attacks of the savages; a security which arises, not from the operations of the federal army, but from the internal strength and population of the country. The frontiers of Kentucky, it is true, are often molested, but these frontiers are perpetually extending farther from the center of the state.

Fifthly, but it is said, you cannot go to the country or return from it in safety. *Answer.* It is two years since any boats were attacked in going down the river; and I cannot imagine any danger to those who are sufficiently precautious. Thousands go down every year without injury; and thousands (men, women, children, and cattle) annually pass through the Wilderness (now reduced to a hundred miles) and no accident has lately happened but in consequence of the too careless practice of going in too small parties.

Sixthly, but the distance itself has been objected to. But why are we to calculate the distance of every place on the continent of America from the town of Philadelphia? It is true, we are seven hundred miles from the people of Philadelphia, but it is only seven hundred miles from men like ourselves. We are as much in the busy scenes of life as the people of Philadelphia are. The settlements of Kentucky are but one hundred miles from the settlements of Virginia and North Carolina; and ere long it is probable that the road from Kentucky to the new Federal City will be no more than four hundred miles. As to intelligence, we have a regular post, which comes and returns once a fortnight, and brings a multitude of newspapers from all parts of the continent. I have had frequent opportunities of observing as great a want of information respecting the public affairs of America and Europe within fifty or a hundred miles of Philadelphia as in Kentucky. I am aware, however, that the tediousness of the journey from Kentucky to Philadelphia will have considerable weight with many persons who might like the idea of being *easily able* to make an excursion to that town once in ten years were they within two hundred miles of that place. Possibly a settlement designed to accommodate any number of such persons might be more advantageously [placed] on the Monongahela River (which rises in Virginia and running northward into Pennsylvania unites with the Allegheny at Fort Pitt and forms the Ohio). The land on the Monongahela frequently resembles that of Kentucky, is with[in] fifty miles of the navigable part of the Potomac, is about three hundred miles from Philadelphia, and has the fine outlet by the Ohio and the Mississippi to the sea. But though I think this country far preferable to lands on the Susquehanna, which though no more than two hundred miles from Philadelphia have not yet been thought worth settling upon, though they have gone over them and settled behind them. Yet Kentucky has the advantage of being a more level country, in being better supplied with salt, in being

nearer to market, and in having milder winters—though the winters on the Monongahela are greatly preferable to those on the branches of the Susquehanna. And even from the Monongahela country produce is brought to market cheaper than from above Northumberland on the Susquehanna. They have attempted, indeed, to unite the Susquehanna and Skuylkill, but are for the present forced to abandon the undertaking. There is an idea of opening it to Baltimore, but whether the idea can be realized for many years is much questioned.

Seventhly, another considerable objection to Kentucky is the want of water. This objection is partly founded upon an imperfect knowledge of the country. Those who first visited it, through the thickness of the herbage and the impenetrability of the canebrakes, were not aware of the many springs which water the country. Experience has, however, in a great part removed the objection. It is found that springs which are always dry a month or two have in consequence of the clearing of the timber and the cultivation of the land become permanent and that the number of springs is amazingly increased. And even when the springs are still irregular, it is found that wells may be sunk at a small expense to springs which never fail.

Eighthly, but of all objections the most unfounded is surely that which rests upon the character of the inhabitants. It is said that they are an idle, dissolute, quarrelsome, insolent set of adventurers, who were too vicious or too poor to live where they were born, and have therefore fled from the society of honest, civilized men. I have not met with a single person who has visited Kentucky that does not absolutely contradict this account. As far as my own observations extend, I may say that I have met with no people in America more regular or more thriving. I compare not the body of the people with my own circle of selected friends in England, but with Americans in general, and I am confident that they will not suffer by the comparison. The most respectable persons are perpetually emigrating to that state. Two thousand persons, it is supposed, have gone through Winchester on their way thither this spring; and many of them traveled in their own pleasure carriages. But it cannot be wondered at, that these reports have been spread against Kentucky, when it is considered that in Philadelphia it is imagined that one quarter of the Virginians have lost their eyes by gouging, and that, with many persons in Pennsylvania, it is sufficient to overturn the

credit of any measure proposed in Congress, to say it originated in Virginia.

Other objections have been made to Kentucky, but I have not them before me and they are, I believe, either unfounded, or of little moment. It has been said, indeed, that the emigrations to that country have decreased. This I conclude to be a mistake founded upon the circumstance of the emigrations from New England to Muskingum having nearly ceased; a country which, though three hundred miles from Lexington, is often in Philadelphia confounded with Kentucky. The people here (Shenandoah Valley) are of a very different opinion. They say from what they see that the emigrations are more numerous. I have had, in the few days I have been here, opportunities of witnessing the perpetual emigration of the most respectable people. Tomorrow we set out ourselves. I have two wagons to Redstone, the boating place, one to carry my goods, the other to carry my family and 1200 pounds of iron, the profit of which I expect will defray the expense of one wagon. The terms are 15*s*. sterling per cwt.

I have not exercised the power entrusted to me of securing a tract of land; for though I am satisfied in my own mind, I doubt giving satisfaction to the others. There is, six miles from Lexington, a tract of the first-rate land (the title indisputable) with seven small improvements and log cabins, consisting of three thousand acres, which I apprehend might be had for less than two thousand pounds sterling. Let every man beware of those who go to England to sell land. If a few families would purchase one or two hundred acres contiguous, and could not settle immediately, they might have any quantity cleared by letting it for three years rent free; still reserving to themselves the right of doing what they pleased with the land which the tenant did not clear. If your young men come out, they may depend upon every advice, direction, and assistance which I can afford. Though I am provided for at Lexington, any few families of my former friends may command my services, without fee, once a Sunday within six miles of Lexington.

I would add more, but my paper will not let me. But I must assure you that I am ever and most sincerely,

H. T.

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